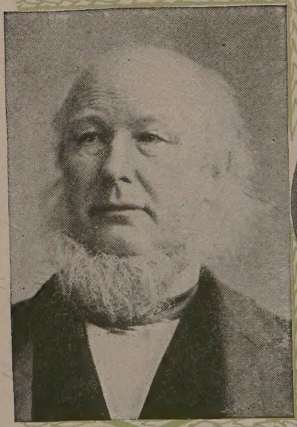
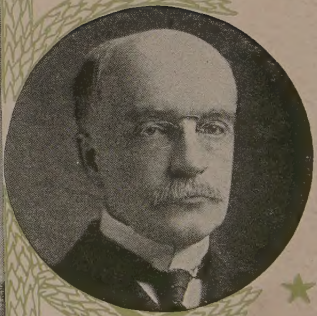
GREAT EPOCHS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

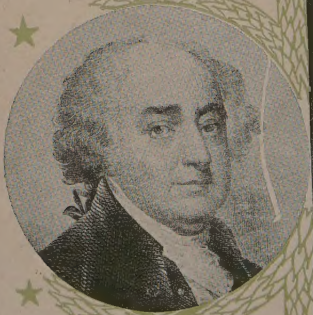
EDITED BY
FRANCIS W. HALSEY



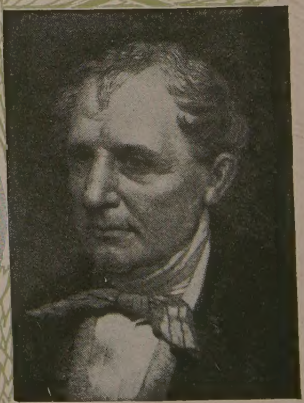
HORACE GREELEY



JOHN B. McMASTER



JOHN ADAMS



J. FENIMORE COOPER

GREAT EPOCHS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

DESCRIBED BY FAMOUS WRITERS

FROM COLUMBUS TO ROOSEVELT

Edited, with Introductions and Explanatory Notes

By FRANCIS W. HALSEY

Associate Editor of "The World's Famous Orations"; Associate Editor of "The Best of the World's Classics"; author of "The Old New York Frontier," etc.

PATRONS' EDITION. IN TEN VOLUMES
ILLUSTRATED

Vol. IV
THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC
1784—1811

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
NEW YORK AND LONDON

COPYRIGHT, 1912, BY
FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
[*Printed in the United States of America*]

INTRODUCTION

(*The Early Years of the Republic*)

With independence achieved and a treaty of peace duly signed, the new-born United States found themselves neither united as a confederacy, nor individually well-ordered States secure against disintegration. The four years from 1783 until 1787 have been called by John Fiske, "the critical period," a phrase since generally accepted as accurately defining the period. As to dangers threatening the perpetuity of the Union, that period resembled closely the four years of civil war, three-quarters of a century afterward. Disunion was threatened not only in the South, but in Pennsylvania and New England, and on the frontier.

The chief cause lay in the absence of a central government possest of supreme authority to govern the whole. Under the Articles of Confederation Congress had no power to act on important measures affecting all the States, except by consent of nine of them. Obliged for several years to maintain an army of 10,000 men, it could not raise the money to pay them, and at one time was

obliged ignominiously to leave Philadelphia in the face of soldiers in revolt for want of pay. Of credit in Europe there was almost none; an attempt to raise $300,000 in Amsterdam in 1784 utterly failed. Money became so scarce that personal property, such as cattle and sheep, also unimproved real estate, were by law made legal-tender.

Another great difficulty was the failure of the States to agree upon a common policy in commercial matters. Tariff laws of their own were made and thus they waged commercial war on one another. At one time four States—Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Georgia, in direct violation of the Articles of Confederation, began to raise troops for their own defenses. Rhode Island, in 1786, recalled her delegates to Congress and refused to appoint others. Shay's rebellion of 1786, in western Massachusetts, was a rebellion against paying debts, and a conspicuous symptom of the discontent of the times. Europe, hearing of these disorders, believed the Union would not long keep itself together. George III thought the States would soon beg England to take them back. The whole country was on the verge of civil war.

The time had come for the old order to be changed or the Union would perish. A constitution in which full authority should be delegated to a Federal Government was seen by all wiser minds to be the only remedy. The Constitution of 1787, much lauded in subsequent years by students of State building, and notably by Gladstone, was not so much a new creation as an outgrowth of experience during the eight years of the Revolutionary War, and the four of subsequent disintegration. Much of it was drawn from systems of government that had already been set up, tried and found adequate in some of the States.

Hamilton's greatest services to the country were rendered after the new government had been organized with him as Secretary of the Treasury. He found the finances bordering on actual bankruptcy—a foreign debt of $10,000,000, a domestic debt of $29,000,000, and accrued interest amounting to $13,000,000. Our bonds had been selling for as little as 25 per cent. of par; but five years later, under his masterly reorganization, they sold at par. How Hamilton accomplished this transformation, remains one of the marvels of his genius. His master stroke in that direction was

achieved when he caused the Federal Government to assume the debts of the several States. This act at once raised the credit of the whole country and cemented the States more firmly in a union. He found a source of large revenue in sales of land from the Northwest Territory, which Virginia had given up for the common good.

Washington's first administration closed in 1793. The Union then seemed complete. Two new States had been added—Vermont and Kentucky. Taxes were uncomplainingly borne. In Washington's second administration trouble arose with England over aggressions committed by her on our commerce, including the impressment of seamen seized on board our ships. Intense indignation arose throughout the country leading to proposals to cut off all intercourse with England. John Jay was sent over in order to try diplomatic persuasion, the result being a treaty so much disliked in America that Jay was burned in effigy, Hamilton stoned at a public meeting and Washington fiercely attacked. But the treaty prevailed and war with England, owing largely to Washington's strong hand and great popularity, was averted.

To the administration of John Adams belong the

Alien and Sedition Laws, by which the President was empowered to banish suspected foreigners and restrictions were imposed on the freedom of the press. These became widely unpopular. The Government was declared to be a tyranny, the laws unconstitutional and Virginia and Kentucky almost rose in rebellion. It was on this issue that the Federalists were first overthrown in a Presidential election and the great era of Jeffersonian democracy was ushered in. The commercial troubles with England did not cease under Jefferson, but rather multiplied, until Jefferson was forced by public sentiment to recommend an embargo, under which no vessel, American or foreign, could leave an American port unless the President suspended the act. The effects of the embargo a year later were disappointing to the country. English and French trade had not been seriously injured, but American shipping had been crippled everywhere, our export trade almost destroyed, so that instead of $110,000,000 we sent abroad $22,000,000; farmers were threatened with ruin; New England ports ceased to perform their functions; and Virginia, unable to sell tobacco, found herself almost bankrupt. The embargo

had been popular enough when imposed, but its effects finally aroused imperative demands for its discontinuance. Its chief distinction now is that it delayed for a few years a second war with England, inevitable since 1793, and finally taking place in 1812-1814.

Jefferson's administration nullified all Federalist predictions that dangers to the Union would follow it. Like many radicals, Jefferson in office was conservative. Under his administration, the country made advances, population pushed westward, and, except during the period of the embargo, commerce increased. By the purchase of Louisiana the area of the country was more than doubled; by the Lewis and Clark expedition, that vast Northwestern region was made known to the people and emigration eventually started into it, including the most distant regions on the Columbia River. In Jefferson's time came also the war with Tripoli, in which American seamen accomplished a feat which had baffled the European powers since the Middle Ages. They overthrew the corsairs of North Africa and put an end to the payment of tribute.

F. W. H.

CONTENTS

VOL. IV—THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC

PAGE

INTRODUCTION. By the Editor v

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION:

I. Franklin's Advice as to Emigrating from Europe (1784) 3

II. How Primitive Everything Was. By John B. M'Master 11

III. How Settlements Were Promoted. By William Cooper 19

JOHN ADAMS'S AUDIENCE WITH GEORGE III AS THE FIRST AMERICAN MINISTER (1785). Adams' Own Official Report 25

THE CONVENTION WHICH FRAMED THE CONSTITUTION (1787). By Joseph Story 31

THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE (1787). By Nathan Dane 38

NOAH WEBSTER'S CAMPAIGN FOR SPELLING REFORM (1787). By John B. M'Master . . . 44

THE ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON (1789). By Washington Irving . . . 51

WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, THE STATE DINNER, AND THE LEVEE (1789). By William Maclay 62

GRAY'S DISCOVERY OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER (1791). By Edward G. Porter 65

THE INVENTION OF THE COTTON GIN (1793). By Horace Greeley 70

THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC IN PHILADELPHIA (1793). By Matthew Carey 83

THE WHISKY INSURRECTION IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA (1794). By Richard Hildreth . . 90

CONTENTS

PAGE

ANTHONY WAYNE AND THE OHIO INDIANS (1793-1794). By Richard Hildreth 108

THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON (1799). By John Marshall 114

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON (1800). By Abigail Adams 121

THE ELECTION OF JEFFERSON AFTER THE CONTEST WITH BURR (1800). By Thomas E. Watson 125

JEFFERSON'S INFLUENCE ON THE COUNTRY. By Edward M. Shepard 132

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA (1803):

I. An Outline History by Reuben Gold Thwaites 140

II. How Napoleon Sold the Territory in Spite of His Brothers. By Lucien Bonaparte 145

HAMILTON'S DEATH IN THE DUEL WITH BURR (1804). By James Schouler 155

THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION (1804-1805). An Outline Sketch by Reuben Gold Thwaites 159

THE WAR WITH TRIPOLI (1801-1805):

Decatur's Capture and Burning of the *Philadelphia*. By Fenimore Cooper 170

THE CONSPIRACY OF AARON BURR (1806). By James Schouler 180

FULTON'S SUCCESS WITH HIS STEAMBOAT (1807):

I. An Account by James Renwick . . . 186

II. Fulton's Own Account of His Trip to Albany 195

DOWN THE OHIO BY BOAT FROM PITTSBURGH, PAST BLENNERHASSETT'S ISLAND (1808). By Henry M. Breckenridge 197

JEFFERSON'S EMBARGO (1808). How It Paralyzed Business. By Josiah Quincy . . . 201

HARRISON'S VICTORY AT TIPPECANOE (1811). By James Schouler 205

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC

1784—1811

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION

I

FRANKLIN'S ADVICE AS TO EMIGRATING FROM EUROPE[1]

(1784)

Many persons in Europe having directly or by letters, exprest to the writer of this, who is well acquainted with North America, their desire of transporting and establishing themselves in that country; but who appear to him to have formed through ignorance, mistaken ideas and expectations of what is to be obtained there; he thinks it may be useful, and prevent inconvenient, expensive and fruitless removals and voyages of improper persons, if he gives some clearer and truer notions of that part of the world than appear to have hitherto prevailed. . . .

The truth is, that tho there are in that country few people so miserable as the poor of Europe, there are also very few that in Europe would be

[1] Written by Benjamin Franklin while living in France, just after the conclusion of the treaty of peace with Great Britain, which he had helped to negotiate, and published in London as "Information to Those Who Would Remove to America." Printed in Hart's "American History Told by Contemporaries."

called rich. It is rather a general happy mediocrity that prevails. There are few great proprietors of the soil, and few tenants; most people cultivate their own lands, or follow some handicraft or merchandise; very few [are] rich enough to live idly upon their rents or incomes; or to pay the high prices given in Europe, for painting, statues, architecture, and the other works of art that are more curious than useful.

Hence the natural geniuses that have arisen in America, with such talents, have uniformly quitted that country for Europe, where they can be more suitably rewarded. It is true that letters and mathematical knowledge are in esteem there, but they are at the same time more common than is apprehended; there being already existing nine colleges, or universities, viz.: four in New England, and one in each of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, all furnished with learned professors; besides a number of smaller academies. These educate many of their youth in the languages, and those sciences that qualify men for the professions of Divinity, Law, or Physic. Strangers indeed are by no means excluded from exercising those professions; and the quick increase of inhabitants everywhere gives them a chance of employ, which they have in common with the natives. Of civil offices or employments, there are few; no superfluous ones as in Europe; and it is a rule established in some of the States, that no office should be so profitable as to make it desirable.

These ideas prevailing more or less in all the United States, it can not be worth any man's while, who has a means of living at home, to expatriate

himself in hopes of obtaining a profitable civil office in America; and as to military offices, they are at an end with the war, the armies being disbanded. Much less is it advisable for a person to go thither who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe it has indeed its value; but it is a commodity that can not be carried to a worse market than to that of America, where people do not inquire concerning a stranger, *What is he?* but *What can he do?* If he has any useful art, he is welcome; and if he exercises it, and behaves well, he will be respected by all that know him; but a mere man of quality, who on that account wants to live upon the public, by some office or salary, will be despised and disregarded. . . .

With regard to encouragements for strangers from government, they are really only what are derived from good laws and liberty. Strangers are welcome because there is room enough for them all, and therefore the old inhabitants are not jealous of them; the laws protect them sufficiently, so that they have no need of the patronage of great men; and every one will enjoy securely the profits of his industry. But if he does not bring a fortune with him, he must work and be industrious to live. One or two years' residence give him all the rights of a citizen; but the Government does not at present, whatever it may have done in former times, hire people to become settlers, by paying their passages, giving land, negroes, utensils, stock, or any other kind of emolument whatsoever. In short, America is the land of labor, and by no means what the English call *Lubberland,* and the French *Pays de Cocagne,* where the

streets are said to be paved with half-peck loaves, the houses tiled with pancakes, and where the fowls fly about ready roasted, crying, *Come eat me!* . . .

Land being cheap in that country, from the vast forests still void of inhabitants, and not likely to be occupied in an age to come, insomuch that the propriety of an hundred acres of fertile soil full of wood may be obtained near the frontiers in many places, for eight or ten guineas, hearty young laboring men, who understand the husbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the same in that country as in Europe, may easily establish themselves there. A little money saved of the good wages they receive there while they work for others enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they are assisted by the good will of their neighbors, and some credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Scotland, and Germany, have by this means in a few years become wealthy farmers, who in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied, and the wages of labor low, could never have emerged from the mean condition wherein they were born.

From the salubrity of the air, the healthiness of the climate, the plenty of good provisions, and the encouragement to early marriages, by the certainty of subsistence in cultivating the earth, the increase of inhabitants by natural generation is very rapid in America, and becomes still more so by the accession of strangers; hence there is a continual demand for more artizans of all the necessary and useful kinds, to supply those cultivators of the earth with houses, and with furniture and utensils of the grosser sorts, which can not so

well be brought from Europe. Tolerably good workmen in any of those mechanic arts are sure to find employ, and to be well paid for their work, there being no restraints preventing strangers from exercising any art they understand, nor any permission necessary. If they are poor, they begin first as servants or journeymen; and if they are sober, industrious, and frugal, they soon become masters, establish themselves in business, marry, raise families, and become respectable citizens.

Also, persons of moderate fortunes and capitals, who having a number of children to provide for, are desirous of bringing them up to industry, and to secure estates for their posterity, have opportunities of doing it in America, which Europe does not afford. There they may be taught and practise profitable mechanic arts, without incurring disgrace on that account; but on the contrary acquiring respect by such abilities. There small capitals laid out in lands, which daily become more valuable by the increase of people, afford a solid prospect of ample fortunes thereafter for those children. The writer of this has known several instances of large tracts of land, bought on what was then the frontier of Pennsylvania, for ten pounds per hundred acres, which, after twenty years, when the settlements had been extended far beyond them, sold readily, without any improvement made upon them, for three pounds per acre. The acre in America is the same with the English acre, or the acre of Normandy. . . .

Several of the Princes of Europe having of late, from [formed?] an opinion of advantage to arise by producing all commodities and manufactures within their own dominions, so as to diminish or

render useless their importations, have endeavored to entice workmen from other countries, by high salaries, privileges, etc. This, however, has rarely been done in America; and when it has been done it has rarely succeeded, so as to establish a manufacture, which the country was not yet so ripe for as to encourage private persons to set it up; labor being generally too dear there, and hands difficult to be kept together, every one desiring to be a master, and the cheapness of land inclining many to leave trades for agriculture. Some indeed have met with success, and are carried on to advantage; but they are generally such as require only a few hands, or wherein great part of the work is performed by machines. Great establishments of manufacture require great numbers of poor to do the work for small wages; these poor are to be found in Europe, but will not be found in America, till the lands are all taken up and cultivated, and the excess of people who can not get land, want employment. . . .

Therefore the governments in America do nothing to encourage such projects. The people, by this means, are not imposed on, either by the merchant or mechanic; if the merchant demands too much profit on imported shoes they buy of the shoemaker; and if he asks too high a price they take them of the merchant: Thus the two professions are checks on each other. The shoemaker, however, has on the whole, a considerable profit upon his labor in America, beyond what he had in Europe, as he can add to his price a sum nearly equal to all the expenses of freight and commission, risk or insurance, etc., necessarily charged by the merchant. And the case is the same with

the workmen in every other mechanic art. Hence it is, that artizans generally live better and more easily in America than in Europe; and such as are good economists make a comfortable provision for age, and for their children. Such may, therefore, remove with advantage to America.

In the old long-settled countries of Europe artizans who fear creating future rivals in business, refuse to take apprentices, but upon conditions of money, maintenance, or the like, which the parents are unable to comply with. In America the rapid increase of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalship, and artizans willingly receive apprentices from the hope of profit by their labor, during the remainder of the time stipulated, after they shall be instructed. Hence it is easy for poor families to get their children instructed; for the artizans are so desirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents, to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them, till the age of twenty-one; and many poor parents have, by that means, on their arrival in the country, raised money enough to buy land sufficient to establish themselves, and to subsist the rest of their family by agriculture.

These contracts for apprentices are made before a magistrate, who regulates the agreement according to reason and justice; and having in view the formation of a future useful citizen, obliges the master to engage by a written indenture, not only that during the time of service stipulated, the apprentice shall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging, and at its expiration with a complete new suit of clothes, but also that he shall be taught to read, write, and cast ac-

counts; and that he shall be well instructed in the art or profession of his master, or some other, by which he may afterward gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raise a family. This desire among the masters to have more hands employed in working for them, induces them to pay the passages of young persons, of both sexes, who on their arrival agree to serve them one. two, three, or four years; those who have already learned a trade, agreeing for a shorter term, in proportion to their skill, and the consequent immediate value of their service; and those who have none, agreeing for a longer term, in consideration of being taught an art their poverty would not permit them to acquire in their own country.

The almost general mediocrity of fortune that prevails in America, obliging its people to follow some business for subsistence, those vices that arise usually from idleness are in a great measure prevented. Industry and constant employment are great preservatives of the morals and virtue of a nation. Hence bad examples to youth are more rare in America, which must be a comfortable consideration to parents. To this may be truly added, that serious religion, under its various denominations, is not only tolerated, but respected and practised. Atheism is unknown there; Infidelity rare and secret; so that persons may live to a great age in that country without having their piety shocked by meeting with either an Atheist or an Infidel. And the Divine Being seems to have manifested his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindness with which the different sects treat each other, by the remarkable prosperity with which he has been pleased to favor the whole country.

II

HOW PRIMITIVE EVERYTHING WAS

BY JOHN B. M'MASTER[1]

Tho the Fourth of July orators then boasted that their country extended over fifteen hundred miles in length, and spread westward across plains of marvelous fertility into regions yet unexplored by man, they had but to look about them to see that the States were indeed but little better than a great wilderness. A narrow line of towns and hamlets extended, with many breaks, along the coast from the province of Maine to Georgia. But fifty miles back from the waters of the Atlantic the country was an unbroken jungle. Portland existed, and here and there along the shore were a few fishers' cots, built of rough-hewn logs, and thatched with seaweed. But an almost unbroken solitude lay between Portland and the St. Lawrence.

In New Hampshire a few hardy adventurers had marked out the sites of villages in the Green Mountains. In New York, Albany was settled, and Schenectady; but the rich valleys through which the Genesee and Mohawk flow to mingle their waters with the Hudson, were the hunting-grounds of the Oneidas, the Mohawks, the Cayugas. In Pennsylvania dense forests and impassable morasses covered that region where rich deposits of iron and of coal have since produced

[1] From McMaster's "History of the People of the United States." By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton & Co. Copyright, 1883.

the Birmingham of America. In Virginia a straggling village or two was to be found about the headwaters of the Potomac and the James. Beyond the Blue Ridge Daniel Boone was fighting the Cherokees in the cane-brakes of Kentucky. Some villages of log huts surrounded by stockades were rising on the fertile plains of western Tennessee. A handful of pioneers had settled at Natchez. Pittsburgh was a military post. St. Louis was begun, but the very name of the village was unknown to nine-tenths of the Americans. So late as 1795, Cincinnati consisted of ninety-five log cabins and five hundred souls.

In truth, that splendid section of our country drained by the Ohio and the Tennessee was one vast solitude. Buffalo wandered in herds over the rich plains now the granaries of Europe. Forests of oak and sycamore grew thick on the site of many great and opulent cities whose population now exceeds that of Virginia during the revolution, and whose names are spoken in the remotest corner of the civilized world. Of the country beyond the Mississippi less was known then than can at present be learned from school geographies touching the heart of Africa and the sheep-walks of Australasia. . . .

When peace was announced the population of the country did not vary far from three and a quarter millions. Nor were these by any means equally distributed. More were in the southern than in the northern States. Virginia alone contained a fifth, Pennsylvania a ninth, while the five States of Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia counted as citizens almost one-half of all the English-speaking people in America.

The reason is obvious. The southern colonies had long before the revolution become renowned as the seat of a lucrative agriculture. Nowhere else could such tobacco be raised as was annually grown on the banks of the Rappahannock, the Potomac, and the James. The best rice in the English market came from the swamps of the Carolinas. Georgia was already famous for pitch, for indigo, for tar. New England, on the other hand, produced scarce enough corn and rye for the needs of her citizens. Beyond a few stately trees, suitable for masts for his Majesty's ships of war, the eastern States grew nothing the mother country wished to buy. There men built ships, sailed the ocean, caught fish, extracted oil from the blubber of whales, put up great warehouses, and kept great shops; but found the climate of a country where snow lay deep on the ground for five months out of twelve too rigorous for profitable farming.

That gigantic system of manufactures which has since made every stream and every river of Massachusetts and Connecticut an endless succession of mills, and covered the land with factory towns, had not begun to exist. Every housewife spun her own flax and made her own linen. Boston and New York were, indeed, the great centers of commerce; but the packets that entered the Narrows, or drew up at the long dock heavy laden, went back to Liverpool freighted with skins which the traders of the new world had purchased from the Indians for bushels of periwinkle shells or strings of wampum. Thus, under the favoring circumstances of climate and soil, agriculture flourished, and wealth and population rapidly increased in all the States south of Virginia, but especially in the

Old Dominion. Nor is it to be forgotten that probably one-seventh of the population was in slavery.

Diverse as the inhabitants of the States thus were in occupations, they were not less divers in opinions, in customs, and habits. Tho lately united in a common league against a common foe, tho now living, nominally, under a common government, many causes conspired to keep them anything but a united people. Differences of race, differences of nationality, of religious opinions, of manners, of tastes, even of speech, were still distinctly marked. New England had been settled by the Puritans, and there the leveling spirit, the stern theology, the rigid and straitlaced morality were as unyielding as ever. Virginia had been settled by the cavaliers, and was still the stronghold of aristocracy, of social refinement and episcopacy. In New York the Dutch element prevailed and the language of Holland was very generally spoken. Maryland was the home of the English Catholics; Pennsylvania of the Germans and the Quakers. Along the Delaware River were flourishing settlements of Swedes. In the Carolinas might be found many villages where the inhabitants were all highlanders, or all Huguenots.

In truth, the traveler who at that day, prompted by curiosity to see the youngest republic, had the hardihood to endure the discomforts and dangers of a journey over the bad roads and through the almost desolate lands of the States, saw nothing more noticeable to put down in his journal than the marked difference of manners, of customs, of taste and refinement which prevailed in the country. . . .

Rude as was the school system of New England, it was incomparably better than could be found in any other section of the country. In New York and Pennsylvania a schoolhouse was never seen outside of a village or a town. In other places children attending school walked for miles through regions infested with wolves and bears. In the southern States education was almost wholly neglected, but nowhere to such an extent as in South Carolina. In that colony, prior to 1730, no such thing as a grammar-school existed. Between 1731 and 1776 there were five. During the revolution there were none. Indeed, if the number of newspapers printed in any community may be taken as a gage of the education of the people, the condition of the southern States as compared with the eastern and middle was most deplorable.

In 1775 there were, in the entire country, thirty-seven papers in circulation. Fourteen of them were in New England, four were in New York, and nine in Pennsylvania. In Virginia and North Carolina there were two each, in Georgia one, in South Carolina three. The same is true to-day. In 1870 the population of Georgia was, in round numbers, twelve hundred thousand souls, and the circulation of the newspapers less than fourteen and a half millions of copies. The population of Massachusetts was, at the same time, fifteen hundred thousand, but the newspaper circulation was far in excess of one hundred and seven and a half millions of copies. . . .

When there was a scarcity of intelligence, when no ships had come in from the whale-fisheries, when no strictures were to be passed on the proceedings of Congress, when the mails had been kept back

by the rains, when the editor was tired of reviling the Society of the Cincinnati, when nothing further was to be said against the refugees, when no election was to be held, when no distinguished strangers had come to town, when no man of note had been buried, and when, consequently, there was great difficulty in filling the four pages, odes, ballads, and bits of poetry made their appearance in the poet's corner. Now and then a paper of enterprise and spirit undertook to enlighten its readers and to fill its columns by the publication in instalments of works of considerable length and high literary merit. . . .

And such topics were needed, for of news the dearth was great. Almost every means of collecting and distributing it familiar to this generation was unknown to our great-grandfathers. There were, indeed, newspapers. Forty-three had come safely through the long revolutionary struggle to publish the joyful tidings of peace. But, with a few exceptions, all were printed in the large towns, and news which depended on them for circulation was in much danger of never going fifty miles from the editor's door. . . .

Towns and cities between which we pass in an hour were a day's journey apart. For all purposes of trade and commerce two hundred and fifty miles was a greater distance than twenty-five hundred miles now. A voyage across the ocean to London or Liverpool, a trip across the prairies to the Pacific coast, is at present performed with more ease and comfort, and with quite as much expedition as, a hundred years since, a journey from Boston to New York was made. It was commonly by stages that both travelers and goods

passed from city to city. Insufferably slow as such a mode of conveyance would seem to an American of this generation, it had, in 1784, but lately come in, and was hailed as a mark of wonderful progress. The first coach and four in New England began its trips in 1744. The first stage between New York and Philadelphia, then the two most populous cities in the colonies, was not set up till 1756, and made the run in three days. The same year that the stamp act was passed a second stage was started. This was advertised as a luxurious conveyance, "being a covered Jersey wagon," and was promised to make the trip in three days, the charge being two pence the mile. The success which attended this venture moved others, and in the year following it was announced that a conveyance, described as the Flying Machine, "being a good wagon, with seats on springs," would perform the whole journey in the surprizingly short time of two days. This increase of speed was, however, accompanied by an increase of fare, the charge being twenty shillings for the through trip and three pence per mile for way-passengers. . . .

With the return of peace the stages again took the road; but many years elapsed before traffic over the highways became at all considerable. While Washington was serving his first term two stages and twelve horses sufficed to carry all the travelers and goods passing between New York and Boston, then the two great commercial centers of the country. The conveyances were old and shackling; the harness made mostly of rope; the beasts were ill-fed and worn to skeletons. The ordinary day's journey was forty miles in summer; but in winter, when the roads were bad and the

darkness came on early in the afternoon, rarely more than twenty-five. In the hot months the traveler was opprest by the heat and half choked by the dust. When cold weather came he could scarce keep from freezing. One pair of horses usually dragged the stage some eighteen miles, when fresh ones were put on, and, if no accident occurred, the traveler was put down at the inn about ten at night. Cramped and weary he ate a frugal supper and betook himself to bed, with a notice from the landlord that he would be called at three the next morning. Then, whether it rained or snowed, he was forced to rise and make ready, by the light of a horn-lantern or a farthing candle, for another ride of eighteen hours. After a series of mishaps and accidents such as would suffice for an emigrant train crossing the plains, the stage rolled into New York at the end of the sixth day. The discomforts and trials of such a trip, combined with the accidents by no means uncommon, the great distance from help in the solitary places through which the road ran, and the terrors of ferry-boats on the rivers, made a journey of any distance an event to be remembered to the end of one's days. Such was the crude state of the science of engineering that no bridge of any considerable length had been undertaken in the States.

III

HOW SETTLEMENTS WERE PROMOTED

BY WILLIAM COOPER[1]

I began with the disadvantage of a small capital, and the incumbrance of a large family, and yet I have already settled more acres than any man in America. There are forty thousand souls now holding directly or indirectly under me, and I trust, that no one among so many can justly impute to me any act resembling oppression. I am now descending into the vale of life, and I must acknowledge that I look back with self-complacency upon what I have done, and am proud of having been an instrument in reclaiming such large and fruitful tracts from the waste of the creation. And I question whether that sensation is not now a recompense more grateful to me than all the other profits I have reaped. Your good sense and knowledge of the world will excuse this seeming boast; if it be vain, we all must have our vanities, let it at

[1] From Cooper's "Guide in the Wilderness," published in Dublin, Ireland, in 1810, and of which a reprint has appeared in recent years in Rochester, N. Y. Cooper was the father of the novelist, Fenimore Cooper. His home originally was in Burlington, N. J., where he became interested in mortgages that had been foreclosed on large tracts of land around Lake Otsego in Central New York. To investigate these lands, he went out to Otsego in 1785 and finally concluded to remove there with his family in 1790. His "Guide in the Wilderness" was a pamphlet issued in Dublin for the purpose of promoting immigration to Otsego. Cooper's son Fenimore, as a child about four years old, went to Otsego with him and grew up there in the

least serve to show that industry has its reward, and age its pleasures, and be an encouragement to others to persevere and prosper.

In 1785 I visited the rough and hilly country of Otsego, where there existed not an inhabitant, nor any trace of a road;[2] I was alone three hundred miles from home, without bread, meat, or food of any kind; fire and fishing tackle were my only means of subsistence. I caught trout in the brook, and roasted them on the ashes. My horse fed on the grass that grew by the edge of the waters. I laid me down to sleep in my watch-coat, nothing but the melancholy wilderness around me. In this way I explored the country, formed my plans of future settlement, and meditated upon the spot where a place of trade or a village should afterward be established.

In May, 1786, I opened the sales of 40,000 acres, which, in sixteen days, were all taken up by the poorest order of men. I soon after established a store, and went to live among them, and con-

wilderness, thus acquiring that familiarity with the Indians and with frontier life of which he has left such famous pictures in his "Leatherstocking Tales." Except for the accident of the foreclosing of the mortgages on these lands, William Cooper probably never would have gone to Otsego and thus his son Fenimore never would have been able to depict Indian life. William Cooper was the first judge of Otsego County. He led a semi-baronial life at his home in what is now Cooperstown, the town founded by him at the foot of the lake, building there what for its day was perhaps the most notable house in New York State, south of the Mohawk and west of the Hudson valley.

[2] Settlements had been begun in this part of New York State as early as 1740—at Cherry Valley and at the foot of Otsego Lake, at Unadilla, forty miles down the Susquehanna, and at a few other remote places; but they were all destroyed during the border wars of the Revolution.

tinued so to do till 1790, when I brought on my family. For the ensuing four years the scarcity of provisions was a serious calamity; the country was mountainous, there were neither roads nor bridges.

But the greatest discouragement was in the extreme poverty of the people, none of whom had the means of clearing more than a small spot in the midst of the thick and lofty woods, so that their grain grew chiefly in the shade; their maize did not ripen; their wheat was blasted, and the little they did gather they had no mill to grind within twenty miles distance; not one in twenty had a horse, and the way lay through rapid streams, across swamps, or over bogs. They had neither provisions to take with them, nor money to purchase them; nor if they had, were any to be found on their way. If the father of a family went abroad to labor for bread, it cost him three times its value before he could bring it home, and all the business on his farm stood still till his return.

I resided among them, and saw too clearly how bad their condition was. I erected a storehouse, and during each winter filled it with large quantities of grain, purchased in distant places. I procured from my friend Henry Drinker a credit for a large quantity of sugar kettles; he also lent me some potash kettles, which we conveyed as we best could; sometimes by partial roads on sleighs, and sometimes over the ice. By this means I established potash works among the settlers, and made them debtor for their bread and laboring utensils. I also gave them credit for their maple sugar and potash, at a price that would bear transportation, and the first year after the adop-

tion of this plan I collected in one mass forty-three hogsheads of sugar, and three hundred barrels of pot and pearl ash, worth about nine thousand dollars. This kept the people together and at home, and the country soon assumed a new face.

I had not funds of my own sufficient for the opening of new roads, but I collected the people at convenient seasons, and by joint efforts we were able to throw bridges over the deep streams, and to make, in the cheapest manner, such roads as suited our then humble purposes.

In the winter preceding the summer of 1789, grain rose in Albany to a price before unknown. The demand swept the whole granaries of the Mohawk country. The number of beginners who depended upon it for their bread greatly aggravated the evil, and a famine ensued, which will never be forgotten by those who, tho now in the enjoyment of ease and comfort, were then afflicted with the cruelest of wants.

In the month of April I arrived among them with several loads of provisions, destined for my own use and that of the laborers I had brought with me for certain necessary operations; but in a few days all was gone, and there remained not one pound of salt meat nor a single biscuit. Many were reduced to such distress as to live upon the roots of wild leeks; some more fortunate lived upon milk, while others supported nature by drinking a syrup made of maple sugar and water. The quantity of leeks they eat had such an effect upon their breath that they could be smelled at many paces distance, and when they came together it was like cattle that had pastured in a garlic field. A man of the name of Beets mistaking some poison-

ous herb for a leek, eat it, and died in consequence. Judge of my feelings at this epoch, with two hundred families about me, and not a morsel of bread.

A singular event seemed sent by a good Providence to our relief; it was reported to me that unusual shoals of fish were seen moving in the clear waters of the Susquehanna. I went and was surprized to find that they were herrings. We made something like a small net, by the interweaving of twigs, and by this rude and simple contrivance we were able to take them in thousands. In less than ten days each family had an ample supply with plenty of salt. I also obtained from the Legislature, then in session, seventeen hundred bushels of corn. This we packed on horses' backs, and on our arrival made a distribution among the families, in proportion to the number of individuals of which each was composed.

This was the first settlement I made,[3] and the first attempted after the revolution; it was, of course, attended with the greatest difficulties; nevertheless, to its success many others have owed their origin. It was besides the roughest land in all the State, and the most difficult of cultivation of all that has been settled; but for many years past it has produced everything necessary to the support and comfort of man. It maintains at present eight thousand souls, with schools, academies, churches, meeting-houses, turnpike roads, and a market town. It annually yields to commerce large droves of fine oxen, great quantities of wheat and other grain, abundance of pork, potash in barrels, and other provisions; merchants with large capitals, and all

[3] At the foot of Otsego Lake, and since called Cooperstown. Here Judge Cooper and his son Fenimore are buried.

kinds of useful mechanics reside upon it; the waters are stocked with fish, the air is salubrious, and the country thriving and happy. When I contemplate all this, and above all, when I see these good old settlers meet together, and hear them talk of past hardships, of which I bore my share, and compare the misery they then endured with the comforts they now enjoy, my emotions border upon weakness, which manhood can scarcely avow. One observation more on the duty of landlords shall close my answer to your first inquiry.

If the poor man who comes to purchase land has a cow and a yoke of cattle to bring with him, he is of the most fortunate class, but as he will probably have no money to hire a laborer, he must do all his clearing with his own hands. Having no pasture for his cow and oxen, they must range the woods for subsistence; he must find his cow before he can have his breakfast, and his oxen before he can begin his work. Much of the day is sometimes wasted, and his strength uselessly exhausted. Under all these disadvantages, if in three years he attains a comfortable livelihood, he is pretty well off: he will then require a barn, as great losses accrue from the want of shelter for his cattle and his grain; his children, yet too young to afford him any aid, require a school, and are a burden upon him; his wife bearing children, and living poorly in an open house, is liable to sickness. and doctors' bills will be to pay.

JOHN ADAMS' AUDIENCE WITH GEORGE III AS THE FIRST AMERICAN MINISTER

(1785)

ADAMS' OWN OFFICIAL REPORT[1]

During my interview with the Marquis of Carmarthen, he told me that it was customary for every foreign minister, at his first presentation to the King, to make his Majesty some compliments conformable to the spirit of his letter of credence; and when Sir Clement Cottrell Dormer, the master of the ceremonies, came to inform me that he should accompany me to the secretary of state and to Court, he said that every foreign minister whom he had attended to the Queen had always made a harangue to her Majesty, and he understood, tho he had not been present, that they always harangued the King.

On Tuesday evening the Baron de Lynden called upon me, and said he came from the Baron de Nolken, and they had been conversing upon the singular situation I was in, and they agreed in opinion that it was indispensable that I should make a speech, and that that speech should be as complimentary as possible. All this was conformable to the advice lately given by the Count de

[1]Adams wrote this account at his hotel in Westminster, London, on June 2, 1785, addressing it to John Jay, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Washington's Cabinet.

Vergennes[2] to Mr. Jefferson; so that, finding it was a custom established at both these great Courts, and that this Court and the foreign ministers expected it, I thought I could not avoid it, altho my first thought and inclination had been to deliver my credentials silently and retire.

At one, on Wednesday, the master of ceremonies called at my house, and went with me to the secretary of state's office, in Cleveland Row, where the Marquis of Carmarthen received me, and introduced me to his under secretary, Mr. Fraser, who has been, as his Lordship told me, uninterruptedly in that office, through all the changes in administration for thirty years, having first been appointed by the Earl of Holderness. After a short conversation upon the subject of importing my effects from Holland and France free of duty, which Mr. Fraser himself introduced, Lord Carmarthen invited me to go with him in his coach to Court. When we arrived in the antechamber, the *œil de bœuf* of St. James's, the master of the ceremonies met me and attended me, while the secretary of state went to take the commands of the King. While I stood in this place, where it seems all ministers stand upon such occasions, always attended by the master of ceremonies, the room very full of ministers of state, lords, and bishops, and all sorts of courtiers, as well as the next room, which is the King's bedchamber, you may well suppose I was the focus of all eyes.

I was relieved, however, from the embarrassment of it by the Swedish and Dutch ministers, who

[2] The French statesman and cabinet officer with whom Franklin had had close relations during the American Revolution.

came to me, and entertained me in a very agreeable conversation during the whole time. Some other gentlemen, whom I had seen before, came to make their compliments too, until the Marquis of Carmarthen returned and desired me to go with him to his Majesty. I went with his Lordship through the levee room into the King's closet. The door was shut, and I was left with his Majesty and the secretary of state alone. I made the three reverences—one at the door, another about half way, and a third before the presence—according to the usage established at this and all the northern Courts of Europe, and then addrest myself to his Majesty in the following words:

"Sir:—The United States of America have appointed me their minister plenipotentiary to your Majesty, and have directed me to deliver to your Majesty this letter, which contains the evidence of it. It is in obedience to their express commands, that I have the honor to assure your Majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your Majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your Majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your royal family. The appointment of a minister from the United States to your Majesty's Court will form an epoch in the history of England and of America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow citizens, in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men, if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire

esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, the old good nature and the old good humor between people, who, tho separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, and kindred blood.

"I beg your Majesty's permission to add, that, altho I have some time before been entrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself."

The King listened to every word I said, with dignity, but with an apparent emotion. Whether it was the nature of the interview, or whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I did or could express, that touched him, I can not say. But he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with, and said:

"Sir:—The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly dispositions of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The mo-

ment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give to this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood have their natural and full effect."

I dare not say that these were the King's precise words, and, it is even possible, that I may have in some particular mistaken his meaning; for, altho his pronunciation is as distinct as I ever heard, he hesitated some time between his periods, and between the members of the same period. He was indeed much affected, and I confess I was not less so, and, therefore, I can not be certain that I was so cool and attentive, heard so clearly, and understood so perfectly, as to be confident of all his words or sense; and, I think, that all which he said to me should at present be kept secret in America, unless his Majesty, or his secretary of state, who alone was present, should judge proper to report it. This I do say, that the foregoing is his Majesty's meaning as I then understood it, and his own words as nearly as I can recollect them.

The King then asked me whether I came last from France, and upon my answering in the affirmative, he put on an air of familiarity, and, smiling, or rather laughing, said, "there is an opinion among some people that you are not the most attached of all your countrymen to the manners of France." I was surprized at this, because I thought it an indiscretion and a departure from the dignity. I was a little embarrassed, but determined not to deny the truth on one hand, nor leave him to infer from it any attachment to England on the other. I threw off as much gravity as I could, and assumed an air of gayety and a tone of decision as

far as was decent, and said, "that opinion, sir, is not mistaken; I must avow to your Majesty, I have no attachment but to my own country." The King replied, as quick as lightning, "an honest man will never have any other."

The King then said a word or two to the secretary of state, which, being between them, I did not hear, and then turned round and bowed to me, as is customary with all kings and princes when they give the signal to retire. I retreated, stepping backward, as is the etiquette, and, making my last reverence at the door of the chamber, I went my way. The master of the ceremonies joined me the moment of my coming out of the King's closet, and accompanied me through the apartments down to my carriage, several stages of servants, gentlemen-porters, and under-porters, roaring out like thunder, as I went along, "Mr Adams' servants, Mr. Adams' carriage, etc." I have been thus minute, as it may be useful to others hereafter to know.

The conversation with the King, Congress will form their own judgment of. I may expect from it a residence less painful than I once expected, as so marked an attention from the King will silence many grumblers; but we can infer nothing from all this concerning the success of my mission.

THE CONVENTION WHICH FRAMED THE CONSTITUTION

(1787)

BY JOSEPH STORY[1]

Commissioners were appointed by the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, early in 1785, to form a compact relative to the navigation of the Potomac and Pocomoke rivers and Chesapeake Bay. The commissioners, having met in March in that year, felt the want of more enlarged powers, and particularly of powers to provide for a local naval force, and a tariff of duties upon imports. Upon receiving their recommendation, the Legislature of Virginia passed a resolution for laying the subject of a tariff before all the States composing the Union. Soon afterward, in January, 1786, the Legislature adopted another resolution, appointing commissioners, "who were to meet such as might be appointed by the other States in the Union, at a time and place to be agreed on, to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to examine the relative situation and trade of the States; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial relations may be neces-

[1] Judge Story was one of the most eminent of American jurists. Born at Marblehead, Mass., in 1779, he became, after serving in Congress for one year, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, filling this office for thirty-five years. Story's "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States," published in 1833, is a legal classic.

sary to their common interest and their permanent harmony; and to report to the several States such an act, relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, will enable the United States in Congress assembled to provide for the same."

These resolutions were communicated to the States, and a convention of commissioners from five States only, viz., New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, met at Annapolis in September, 1786. After discussing the subject, they deemed more ample powers necessary, and, as well from this consideration as because a small number only of the States was represented, they agreed to come to no decision, but to frame a report to be laid before the several States, as well as before Congress. In this report they recommended the appointment of commissioners from all the States, "to meet at Philadelphia, on the second Monday of May next, to take into consideration the situation of the United States; to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union; and to report such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress assembled as, when agreed to by them, and afterward confirmed by the legislature of every State, will effectually provide for the same."

On receiving this report the Legislature of Virginia passed an act for the appointment of delegates to meet such as might be appointed by other States, at Philadelphia. The report was also received in Congress, but no step was taken until the Legislature of New York instructed its dele-

gation in Congress to move a resolution recommending to the several States to appoint deputies to meet in convention for the purpose of revising and proposing amendments to the Federal Constitution. On February 21, 1787, a resolution was accordingly moved and carried in Congress recommending a convention to meet in Philadelphia, on the second Monday of May ensuing, "For the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures, such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." The alarming insurrection then existing in Massachusetts, without doubt, had no small share in producing this result. The report of Congress on that subject at once demonstrates their fears and their political weakness.

At the time and place appointed the representatives of twelve States assembled. Rhode Island alone declined to appoint any on this momentous occasion. After very protracted deliberations the convention finally adopted the plan of the present Constitution on September 17, 1787; and by a contemporaneous resolution, directed it to be "laid before the United States in Congress assembled," and declared their opinion "that it should afterward be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the people thereof, under a recommendation of its legislature for their assent and ratification"; and that each convention assenting to and ratifying the same should give notice thereof to Congress. The convention, by a

further resolution, declared their opinion that as soon as nine States had ratified the Constitution, Congress should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the States which should have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble and vote for the President, and the time and place of commencing proceedings under the Constitution; and that after such publication the electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected. The same resolution contained further recommendations for the purpose of carrying the Constitution into effect.

The convention, at the same time, addrest a letter to Congress, expounding their reasons for their acts, from which the following extract can not but be interesting: "It is obviously impracticable [says the address] in the federal government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interest. In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view that, which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our

prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected. And thus the Constitution which we now present is the result of the spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

Congress, having received the report of the convention on September 28, 1787, unanimously resolved "that the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention, made and provided in that case."

Conventions in the various States which had been represented in the general convention were accordingly called by their respective legislatures; and the Constitution having been ratified by eleven out of the twelve States, Congress, on September 13, 1788, passed a resolution appointing the first Wednesday in January following for the choice of electors of President; the first Wednesday of February following for the assembling of the electors to vote for a President; and the first Wednesday of March following, at the then seat of Congress (New York) the time and place for commencing proceedings under the Constitution. Electors were accordingly appointed in the several States, who met and gave their votes for a President; and the other elections for Senators and Representatives having been duly made, on Wed-

nesday, March 4, 1789, Congress assembled under the new Constitution and commenced proceedings under it.

A quorum of both Houses, however, did not assemble until April 6th, when the votes for President being counted, it was found that George Washington was unanimously elected President, and John Adams was elected Vice-President. On April 30th President Washington was sworn into office, and the government then went into full operation in all its departments.

North Carolina had not, as yet, ratified the Constitution. The first convention called in that State, in August, 1788, refused to ratify it without some previous amendments and a declaration of rights. In a second convention, however, called in November, 1789, this State adopted the Constitution. The State of Rhode Island had declined to call a convention; but finally, by a convention held in May, 1790, its assent was obtained; and thus all the thirteen original States became parties to the new government.

Thus was achieved another and still more glorious triumph in the cause of national liberty than even that which separated us from the mother-country. By it we fondly trust that our republican institutions will grow up, and be nurtured into more mature strength and vigor; our independence be secured against foreign usurpation and aggression; our domestic blessings be widely diffused, and generally felt; and our nation, as a people, be perpetuated, as our own truest glory and support, and as a proud example of a wise and beneficent government, entitled to the respect, if not to the admiration, of mankind.

Let it not, however, be supposed that a Constitution, which is now looked upon with such general favor and affection by the people, had no difficulties to encounter at its birth. The history of those times is full of melancholy instruction on this subject, at once to admonish us of past dangers, and to awaken us to a lively sense of the necessity of future vigilance. The Constitution was adopted unanimously by Georgia, New Jersey, and Delaware. It was supported by large majorities in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland, and South Carolina. It was carried in the other States by small majorities; and especially in Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia by little more than a preponderating vote. Indeed, it is believed that in each of these States, at the first assembling of the conventions, there was a decided majority opposed to the Constitution. The ability of the debates, the impending evils, and the absolute necessity of the case seem to have reconciled some persons to the adoption of it, whose opinions had been strenuously the other way.

"In our endeavors," said Washington, "to establish a new general government, the contest, nationally considered, seems not to have been so much for glory as for existence. It was for a long time doubtful whether we were to survive, as an independent republic, or decline from our federal dignity into insignificant and withered fragments of empire."

THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE

(1787)

BY NATHAN DANE[1]

You recollect you ascribed to me the formation of the Ordinance of the Old Congress, of July 13, 1787. Since writing you last, I have seen Mr. Benton's speech on the subject, in the *National Intelligencer,* of March 6, 1830, in which, I find, on no authority, he ascribes its formation in substance to Mr. Jefferson; that is, that Mr. Jefferson formed an ordinance in 1784, and he seems to infer from that the Ordinance of '87 was taken or copied. This inference of Benton's has not the least foundation, as thus appears: Mr. Jefferson's resolve, or plan (not ordinance), of April 23, 1784, is contained in two pages and a half; is a mere incipient plan, in no manner matured for practise, as may be seen. The Ordinance of July, 1787, contains eight pages; is in itself a complete system,

[1] Dane, an eminent lawyer of Massachusetts, was born in Ipswich in 1752 and died in Beverley in 1835. It was he who drafted this famous ordinance, which is contemporary with the Constitution. It prohibited slavery in a territory which now comprizes the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota—that is, all the territory comprized within the vast triangle formed by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and the Great Lakes. The account here given is contained in a letter addrest by Dane to Daniel Webster in 1830. It has been printed in the "Proceedings" of the Massachusetts Historical Society and in Hart's "American History told by Contemporaries."

and finished for practise; and, what is very material, there can not be found in it more than twenty lines taken from Jefferson's plan, and these worded differently. In fact, his plan and this Ordinance are totally different, in size, in style, in form, and in principle. Mr. Benton's assertion, so groundless, extorts from me the above, and the following exposition, in defense of those who have long ascribed to me the formation. . . .

1. As I am the only member of Congress living who had any concern in forming or in passing this Ordinance, no living testimony is to be expected.

2. In the *North American Review* of July, 1826, pages 1 to 41, is a review of my "General Abridgment," etc., of American Law. In page 40, it is said, I "was the framer of the celebrated Ordinance of Congress, of 1787." At present it is enough to add this fact, stated in the Inaugural Discourse of Judge Story, page 58. . . .

Generally, when persons have asked me questions respecting the Ordinance, I have referred to the Ordinance itself, as evidently being the work of a Massachusetts lawyer on the face of it. I now make the same reference, and to its style, found in my "Abridgment," etc.

3. When I mention the formation of this Ordinance, it is proper to explain. It consists of three parts. 1st, The titles to estates, real and personal, by deed, by will, and by descent; also personal, by delivery. These titles occupy the first part of the Ordinance, not a page, evidently selected from the laws of Massachusetts, except it omits the double share of the oldest son. These titles were made to take root in the first and early settlements, in 400,000 square miles. Such titles so taking root,

we well know, are, in their nature, in no small degree *permanent;* so, vastly important. I believe these were the first titles to property, completely republican, in Federal America; being in no part whatever feudal or monarchical. 2d, It consists of the *temporary* parts that ceased with the territorial condition; which, in the age of a nation, soon pass away, and hence are not *important.* These parts occupy about four pages. They designate the officers, their qualifications, appointments, duties, oaths, etc., and a temporary legislature. Neither those parts, nor the titles, were in Jefferson's plan, as you will see. The 3d part, about three pages, consists of the *six fundamental articles* of *compact,* expressly made *permanent, and to endure for ever;* so, the most important and valuable part of the Ordinance.

These, and the titles to estates, I have ever considered the parts of the Ordinance that give it its peculiar character and value; and never the *temporary* parts, of short duration. Hence, whenever I have written or spoken of its formation, I have mainly referred to these titles and articles; not to the *temporary* parts, in the forming of which, in part, in 1786, Mr. Pinckney, myself, and, I think, Smith, took a part. So little was done with the Report of 1786, that only a few lines of it were entered in the Journals. I think the files, if to be found, will show that Report was reformed, and temporary parts added to it, by the Committee of '87; and that I then added the titles and six articles; five of them before the Report of 1787 was printed, and the sixth article after, as below.

4. As the *slave* article has ever principally attracted the public attention, I have, as you will see,

ever been careful to give Mr. Jefferson and Mr. King their full credit in regard to it. I find in the Missouri contest, ten years ago, the slave-owners in Congress condemned the six articles generally; and Mr. Pinckney, one of the Committee of 1786, added, they were an attempt to establish a *compact,* where none could exist, for want of proper parties. This objection, and also the one stating the Ordinance was an *usurpation,* led me to add pages 442, beginning *remarks,* to page 450, in which I labored much to prove it was no usurpation, and that the articles of compact were valid. They may be referred to, as in them may be seen the style of the Ordinance, tho written thirty-four years after that was. Slave-owners will not claim as Mr. Pinckney's work what he condemned. Careful to give Mr. J. and Mr. K. full credit in pages 443, 446, Vol. VII, I noticed Mr. Jefferson's plan of '84, and gave him credit for his attempt to exclude slavery after the year 1800. I may now add, he left it to take root about seventeen years; so his exclusion was far short of the sixth article in the Ordinance.

Page 446, I noticed the motion (Mr. King's) of March 16, 1785, and admitted it to be a motion to exclude slavery, as fully as in the sixth article. I now think I admitted too much. He moved to exclude slavery only from *the States* described in the Resolve of Congress, of April 23, 1784, Jefferson's Resolve, and to be added to it. It was very doubtful whether the word *States,* in that Resolve, included any more territory than the individual States ceded; and whether the word *States* included preceding *territorial condition.* Some thought his motion meant only *future* exclusion,

as did Mr. Jefferson's plan clearly: therefore, in forming the Ordinance of '87, all about States in his plan was excluded, as was nearly all his plan, as inspection will prove, and that Ordinance made, in a few plain words, to include "the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio"—all made, for the purposes of temporary government, one district; and the sixth article excludes slavery for ever from "the said territory." One part of my claim to the slave article I now, for the first time, state. In April, 1820 (Missouri contest), search was made for the original manuscript of the Ordinance of '87. Daniel Bent's answer was, "that no written draft could be found"; but there was found, attached to the printed Ordinance, in my handwriting, the sixth article, as it now is,—that is, the slave article. So this article was made a part of the Ordinance solely by the care of him, who says Mr. Benton no more formed the Ordinance of '87 than he did. I have Bent's certificate, etc.

5. In pages 389, 390, Sec. 3, Vol. VII, I mention the Ordinance of '87 was framed, mainly, from the laws of Massachusetts. This appears on the face of it; meaning the titles to estates, and nearly all the six articles, the *permanent* and important parts of it, and some other parts; and, in order to take the credit of it to Massachusetts, I added, "this Ordinance (formed by the author, etc.) was framed," etc. I then had no idea it was ever claimed as the draft of any other person. Mr. Jefferson I never thought of. In the Missouri contest, Mr. Grayson was mentioned as the author; but, as he never was on any committee in the case, nor wrote a word of it, the mention of him was

deemed an idle affair. We say, and properly, Mr. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence (or formed it, as you observe); yet he no more than collected the important parts, and put them together. If any lawyer will critically examine the laws and constitutions of the several States, as they were in 1787, he will find the titles, six articles, etc., were not to be found anywhere else so well as in Massachusetts, and by one who, in '87, had been engaged several years in revising her laws. See *N. A. Review*, July, 1826, pages 40, 41. I have never claimed *originality*, except in regard to the clause against impairing contracts, and perhaps the *Indian* article, part of the third article, including, also, religion, morality, knowledge, schools, etc.

NOAH WEBSTER'S CAMPAIGN FOR SPELLING REFORM

(1787)

BY JOHN B. M'MASTER[1]

Noah Webster was a man of some learning, narrow-minded it is true, yet able, of unflagging industry, and of great self-reliance. But he was unhappily afflicted with the most offensive of all faults, gross self-conceit. Tho a young man, he had risen to some notoriety in New England as a zealous Whig, a firm friend of Government, and as the author of some political essays which may still be perused with interest, and an excellent spelling-book for schools. Webster was himself a school-master, and had conceived a strong disgust for the ancient Dilworth and Jonson, which were at that time the only spelling-books in use. He set about correcting them, and as he worked upon his book the idea of a still greater reform seems to have started in his mind. He would improve

[1] From McMaster's "History of the People of the United States." By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton & Co. Copyright, 1883. Noah Webster was born in Hartford in 1758 and died in New Haven in 1843. His "Grammatical Institute of the English Language," of which an account is given in this article, was first published in 1783. It comprized a spelling-book, afterward famous, which has survived through more than three generations, a grammar and a reader. Webster's "Dictionary" dates from a later period—1806, when he issued a "Compendious Dictionary." His larger work was not issued until 1828. Of Webster's

the English tongue. He would simplify English spelling and grammar. He would destroy those dialectical differences that made the New England man a laughing-stock of the Virginian, and establish an American language that would in time go over the ocean and replace the ancient speech of England.

The scheme was a bold one. But Webster was young, ardent, and began his task with a spirit worthy of so high a purpose. Like most reformers, he commenced by laying down a theory of perfection, which he carried out unswervingly to its logical extreme. Some words were to be proscribed; the spelling of others was to be materially altered; all silent vowels were to be cut out. But the most daring innovation was in the alphabet. The new language was to have every sound represented by a letter, and no letter was to be suffered to remain that did not stand for a distinct sound.

Many new characters were therefore to be introduced, and many old ones cast aside. Such was his enthusiasm and conceit that he felt quite sure that letters familiar to hundreds of generations of men, and older than any other institution, human or divine, then existing, letters that had seen the rise of every language of Western Europe, that

"Spelling Book" many millions of copies have been sold. It was long published by D. Appleton & Co. Sales were often made through wholesale dry-goods houses, who ordered it by the case and shipped it in cases to general country stores. In 1865 the number printed by the Appletons was 1,528,000 copies, the largest number in any one year. From 1857 until 1896, inclusive, 33,000,000 copies were printed and all were sold. At the beginning of the Civil War, the annual sales were about 1,000,000 copies. During the war they fell off to about one-half as many.

were old when the first Saxon set foot in Britain, when Christ came on earth, when Cæsar invaded Gaul, when Rome was still a petty hamlet on the banks of the Tiber, would at his suggestion be ruthlessly swept away. Nor was he the only one who thought so. Franklin was acquainted with the plan, and wrote to Webster that he had himself often thought of such a change; that he believed it not merely practicable but necessary, and that for his part he was ready to give it all the encouragement and all the support in his power.

To bring his plan to the attention of the public, Webster wrote a series of lectures which he read during the winter of 1785, and the spring of 1786 at Annapolis, at Baltimore, at Philadelphia, and New York. Everywhere he met with much applause. One who heard him at Annapolis declared that he had gone with indifference and come away with regret. After all that had been written on the subject, he looked for nothing new, especially from an American. But he was agreeably disappointed. The lecturer was bold enough to call in question opinions of eminent English writers which had till then passed for truth, and if he received the attention he deserved, England would be indebted to America for the last improvement in her tongue.

At New York, Ramsey and many of the Congressmen who heard him were much pleased, approved his plan, and urged him to go on. But in Philadelphia were many who looked coldly on so radical a change. This Webster well knew, and, before lecturing in that city, cast about him for some public character whose good services he might secure. He selected his countryman, Timothy Pick-

ering, and to Pickering he now wrote. He had, so the letter ran, begun a reform in the language. His plan was still in embryo, yet he proposed to make it the subject of a set of lectures to be read in Philadelphia some time during the winter. As he was the first American to undertake so bold a plan, a Yankee, and a youth, he felt the need of the countenance of gentlemen of the established character of Mr. Pickering. He wished, therefore, that a notice of his coming might be inserted in a Philadelphia newspaper, in order to prepare the minds of the people for such an event. In a word, he wanted what in the language of our time would be called a puff.

When the lectures came off, Pickering made one of the audience, and has left us, undoubtedly, a just estimate of the performance. With a competent snare of good sense, the lecturer had, he declared a *quantum sufficit* of vanity, and greatly overestimated his own talents. Such, in truth, was his egotism that his hearers were prevented from receiving that satisfaction which they must otherwise have drawn from his ingenious observations. As to the encouragement he met with, it was nothing to boast of. But then the Philadelphians had ever seemed to have an overweening opinion of their own literary acquirements as well as other excellencies. This, before a year had gone by, Webster found to be quite true. It was long before the recollection of his offensive egotism, and the strictures he laid on the improper pronunciation of many words, were forgotten by the Philadelphians.

Late in April, 1787, the *Independent Gazetteer*, a scurrilous sheet, even for those times, and strong-

ly tinged with Antifederalism, published a communication in which, among other things, Webster was accused of being a Tory and an enemy of the public debt. Webster had no liking for the Philadelphians, who had indeed given a poor reception to his book. In truth, he had complained to Pickering that while the "Institute" found a ready sale at Charleston, at New York, and in the East, there was scarce a call for it at Philadelphia. This new offense was therefore hard to bear. He quite lost his temper, and had the bad taste to reply. But this only made matters worse, for the reply was, to say the least, full of bitterness and conceit. Had he not, he said, a thousand testimonials of his patriotism, love of government, and justice; had he not written the substance of volumes in support of the revolution and the Federal measures; had he not crusht, almost with his single pen, a State combination against these measures, there might be some appearance of truth in the charge. He then went on, in a long letter, to show that he really was an ill-used man.

This was precisely what the *Gazetteer* wanted; and from that time forth for two months scarce a number came out but it contained some fling at Webster. A host of pretended schoolmasters attacked him, half in sport, half in earnest, sometimes as Mr. Webster, sometimes as Mr. Grammatical Institute, and again as the Institutical Genius. Did Mr. Webster, said one of them, suppose for a moment that any man in Pennsylvania would submit to be instructed by a man from New England, where, so far from being acquainted with their own language, they stupidly spoke a mixture of all? Mr. Webster had much fault to find with some

words often in the mouths of Pennsylvanians. But were they much better off in New England? Where under the sun did they get kaow for cow? Nan, a word much in use among the Quakers, was far better, and could not possibly be thrown aside. In truth, if he were to pick out all the awkward, old-fashioned words that continued to be as current among them as the Jersey six-pound bills, he would have to peruse the dictionary from A to Z.

On another occasion he was derided for placing after his name the word 'Squire, and this in the eyes of many was the greatest fault of all. For the old reverence for titles and marks of rank had not yet become extinct, and it was thought a piece of impudence for an upstart Yankee schoolmaster to assume so dignified a title.

But in general the jests and sarcasms were directed against his book. In a mock address to the Federal Convention, that body was asked to see to it that the English tongue was properly established. One Webster, a New England man, had put out a book which he called an "Institute," and which contained some new things. On the title-page was the word systematic. This strong propensity to clip off the *al* from systematical and like words was noticed with concern. It was an innovation. It was to be looked to, for was not the *al* essential to the language and the main pillar of the Feder*al* Government?

On another page he used need for needs, which every schoolboy knew was false. Could the State exist when a verb did not agree with its nominative case? The same Institutional Genius declared that all adjectives could be compared by more and most. What child did not know that one thing could not

be more square or more cubical than another? Adjectives such as broad and long followed, he said, the nouns they qualified. It would therefore be proper to say hereafter that Chestnut was a street long and Market a street broad. Could a New England man be right? His attempt to introduce his "Institute" into the schools and displace Dilworth and Jonson was a Whig scheme.

THE ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON

(1789)

BY WASHINGTON IRVING[1]

The adoption of the Federal Constitution was another epoch in the life of Washington. Before the official forms of an election could be carried into operation, a unanimous sentiment throughout the Union pronounced him the nation's choice to fill the presidential chair. He looked forward to the possibility of his election with characteristic modesty and unfeigned reluctance; as his letters to his confidential friends bear witness. "It has no fascinating allurements for me," writes he to Lafayette. "At any time of life and under my circumstances, the increasing infirmities of nature and the growing love of retirement do not permit me to entertain a wish beyond that of living and dying an honest man on my own farm. Let those follow the pursuits of ambition and fame who have a keener relish for them, or who may have more years in store for the enjoyment." . . .

To Lafayette he declares that his difficulties increase and multiply as he draws toward the period when, according to common belief, it will be necessary for him to give a definite answer as to the office in question. "Should circumstances render it

[1] From Irving's "Life of Washington." By permission of the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

in a number inevitably necessary to be in the affirmative," writes he, "I shall assume the task with the most unfeigned reluctance, and with a real diffidence, for which I shall probably receive no credit from the world. If I know my own heart, nothing short of a conviction of duty will induce me again to take an active part in public affairs; and in that case, if I can form a plan for my own conduct, my endeavors shall be unremittingly exerted, even at the hazard of former fame or present popularity, to extricate my country from the embarrassments in which it is entangled through want of credit; and to establish a general system of policy, which if pursued will insure permanent felicity to the commonwealth. I think I see a path clear and direct as a ray of light, which leads to the attainment of that object. Nothing but harmony, honesty, industry, and frugality, are necessary to make us a great and happy people. Happily the present posture of affairs, and the prevailing disposition of my countrymen, promise to cooperate in establishing those four great and essential pillars of public felicity."

The election took place at the appointed time, and it was soon ascertained that Washington was chosen President for the term of four years from the 4th of March. By this time the arguments and entreaties of his friends, and his own convictions of public expediency, had determined him to accept; and he made preparations to depart for the seat of government, as soon as he should receive official notice of his election. Among other duties, he paid a visit to his mother at Fredericksburg; it was a painful, because likely to be a final one, for she was afflicted with a malady which, it was evi-

dent, must soon terminate her life. Their parting was affectionate, but solemn; she had always been reserved and moderate in expressing herself in regard to the successes of her son; but it must have been a serene satisfaction at the close of life to see him elevated by his virtues to the highest honor of his country.

From a delay in forming a quorum of Congress, the votes of the electoral college were not counted until early in April, when they were found to be unanimous in favor of Washington. . . . At length, on the 14th of April, he received a letter from the President of Congress, duly notifying him of his election; and he prepared to set out immediately for New York, the seat of government. An entry in his diary, dated the 16th, says: "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and with a mind opprest with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render services to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations.

At the first stage of his journey a trial of his tenderest feelings awaited him in a public dinner given him at Alexandria, by his neighbors and personal friends, among whom he had lived in the constant interchange of kind offices, and who were so aware of the practical beneficence of his private character. A deep feeling of regret mingled with their festivity. The mayor, who presided, and spoke of the sentiments of the people of Alexandria, deplored in his departure the loss of the first and best of their citizens, the ornament of the aged, the model of the young, the improver of their

agriculture, the friend of their commerce, the protector of their infant academy, the benefactor of their poor—but "go," added he, "and make a grateful people happy, who will be doubly grateful when they contemplate this new sacrifice for their interests."

Washington was too deeply affected for many words in reply. "Just after having bade adieu to my domestic connections," said he, "this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated to awaken still further my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyments of private life. All that now remains for me is to commit myself and you to the care of that beneficent Being, who, on a former occasion, happily brought us together after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge me. But words fail me. Unutterable sensations must, then, be left to more expressive silence, while from an aching heart I bid all my affectionate friends and kind neighbors farewell!"

His progress to the seat of government was a continual ovation. The ringing of bells and roaring of cannonry proclaimed his course through the country. The old and young, women and children, thronged the highways to bless and welcome him. Deputations of the most respectable inhabitants from the principal places came forth to meet and escort him. At Baltimore, on his arrival and departure, his carriage was attended by a numerous cavalcade of citizens, and he was saluted by the thunder of artillery.

At the frontier of Pennsylvania he was met by his former companion in arms, Mifflin, now governor of the State, who with Judge Peters and a civil

and military escort, was waiting to receive him. Washington had hoped to be spared all military parade, but found it was not to be evaded. At Chester, where he stopt to breakfast, there were preparations for a public entrance into Philadelphia. Cavalry had assembled from the surrounding country; a superb white horse was led out for Washington to mount, and a grand procession set forward, with General St. Clair of Revolutionary notoriety at his head. It gathered numbers as it advanced; passed under triumphal arches entwined with laurel, and entered Philadelphia amid the shouts of the multitude. . . .

We question whether any of these testimonials of a nation's gratitude affected Washington more sensibly than those he received at Trenton. It was on a sunny afternoon when he arrived on the banks of the Delaware, where, twelve years before he had crossed in darkness and storm, through clouds of snow and drifts of floating ice, on his daring attempt to strike a blow at a triumphant enemy. Here at present all was peace and sunshine, the broad river flowed placidly along, and crowds awaited him on the opposite bank, to hail him with love and transport.

We will not dwell on the joyous ceremonials with which he was welcomed, but there was one too peculiar to be omitted. The reader may remember Washington's gloomy night on the banks of the Assunpink, which flows through Trenton; the campfires of Cornwallis in front of him; the Delaware full of floating ice in the rear; and his sudden resolve on that midnight retreat which turned the fortunes of the campaign. On the bridge crossing that eventful stream, the ladies of Trenton had

caused a triumphal arch to be erected. It was entwined with evergreens and laurels, and bore the inscription: "The defender of the mothers will be the protector of the daughters." At this bridge the matrons of the city were assembled to pay him reverence; and as he passed under the arch, a number of young girls, drest in white and crowned with garlands, strewed flowers before him, singing an ode expressive of their love and gratitude. Never was ovation more graceful, touching, and sincere; and Washington, tenderly affected, declared that the impression of it on his heart could never be effaced.

The whole progress through New Jersey must have afforded a similar contrast to his weary marchings to and fro, harassed by doubts and perplexities, with bale fires blazing on its hills, instead of festive illuminations, and when the ringing of bells and booming of cannon, now so joyous, were the signals of invasion and maraud.

In respect to his reception at New York, Washington had signified in a letter to Governor Clinton, that none could be so congenial to his feelings as a quiet entry devoid of ceremony; but his modest wishes were not complied with. At Elizabethtown Point, a committee of both Houses of Congress, with various civic functionaries, waited by appointment to receive him. He embarked on board of a splendid barge, constructed for the occasion. It was manned by thirteen branch pilots, masters of vessels, in white uniforms, and commanded by Commodore Nicholson. Other barges, fancifully decorated, followed, having on board the heads of departments and other public officers, and several distinguished citizens. As they

passed through the strait between the Jerseys and Staten Island, called the Kills, other boats decorated with flags fell in their wake, until the whole, forming a nautical procession, swept up the broad and beautiful bay of New York, to the sound of instrumental music. On board of two vessels were parties of ladies and gentlemen who sang congratulatory odes as Washington's barge approached. The ships at anchor in the harbor, drest in colors, fired salutes as it passed. One alone, the *Galveston,* a Spanish man-of-war, displayed no signs of gratulation, until the barge of the general was nearly abreast; when suddenly, as if by magic, the yards were manned, the ship burst forth, as it were, into a full array of flags and signals, and thundered a salute of thirteen guns. He approached the landing place of Murray's Wharf, amid the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannonry, and the shouting of multitudes collected on every pier-head. On landing, he was received by Governor Clinton. . . .

Carpets had been spread to a carriage prepared to convey him to his destined residence, but he preferred to walk. He was attended by a long civil and military train. In the streets through which he passed the houses were decorated with flags, silken banners, garlands of flowers and evergreens, and bore his name in every form of ornament. The streets were crowded with people, so that it was with difficulty a passage could be made by the city officers. Washington frequently bowed to the multitude as he passed, taking off his hat to the ladies, who thronged every window waving their handkerchiefs, throwing flowers before him, and many of them shedding tears of enthusiasm. . .

The inauguration was delayed for several days, in which a question arose as to the form or title by which the President-elect was to be addrest; and a committee in both Houses was appointed to report upon the subject. The question was stated without Washington's privity, and contrary to his desire; as he feared that any title might awaken the sensitive jealousy of republicans, at a moment when it was all-important to conciliate public good-will to the new form of government. It was a relief to him, therefore, when it was finally resolved that the address should be simply "the President of the United States," without any addition of title; a judicious form, which has remained to the present day.

The inauguration took place on the 30th of April. At nine o'clock in the morning, there were religious services in all the churches, and prayers put up for the blessing of Heaven on the new government. At twelve o'clock the city troops paraded before Washington's door, and soon after the committees of Congress and heads of departments came in their carriages. At half-past twelve the procession moved forward, preceded by the troops; next came the committee and heads of departments in their carriages; then Washington in a coach of state, his aide-de-camp, Colonel Humphreys, and his secretary, Mr. Lear, in his own carriage. The foreign ministers and a long train of citizens brought up the rear.

About two hundred yards before reaching the hall, Washington and his suite alighted from their carriages, and passed through the troops, who were drawn up on each side, into the hall and senate chamber, where the Vice President, the Senate and

House of Representatives were assembled.[2] The Vice-President, Mr. Adams, recently inaugurated, advanced and conducted Washington to a chair of state at the upper end of the room. A solemn silence prevailed; when the Vice-President rose, and informed him that all things were prepared for him to take the oath of office required by the Constitution.

The oath was to be administered by the Chancellor of the State of New York,[3] in a balcony in front of the senate chamber, and in full view of an immense multitude, occupying the street, the windows, and even roofs of the adjacent houses. The balcony formed a kind of open recess, with lofty columns supporting the roof. In the center was a table with a covering of crimson velvet, upon which lay a superbly bound Bible on a crimson velvet cushion. This was all the paraphernalia for the august scene.

All eyes were fixt upon the balcony, when, at the appointed hour, Washington made his appearance, accompanied by various public functionaries, and members of the Senate and House of Representatives. He was clad in a full suit of dark-brown cloth, of American manufacture, with a steel-hilted dress sword, white silk stockings, and silver shoe-buckles. His hair was drest and pow-

[2] In the building called Federal Hall, on the site occupied by the Sub-treasury. Here now stands the colossal statue of Washington, by J. Q. A. Ward.

[3] The Bible used on this occasion still exists, the property of a Masonic Lodge in New York, from which it was borrowed at the time for the purpose. So carefully is it guarded that when lent for ceremonious occasions, an officer of the lodge always accompanies it.

dered in the fashion of the day, and worn in a bag and soltaire.

His entrance on the balcony was hailed by universal shouts. He was evidently moved by this demonstration of public affection. Advancing to the front of the balcony, he laid his hand upon his heart, bowed several times, and then retreated to an armchair near the table. The populace appeared to understand that the scene had overcome him; and were hushed at once into profound silence. After a few moments Washington rose and again came forward. John Adams, the Vice-President, stood on his right; on his left the chancellor of the State, Robert R. Livingston; somewhat in the rear were Roger Sherman, Alexander Hamilton, Generals Knox, St. Clair, the Baron Steuben, and others.

The chancellor advanced to administer the oath prescribed by the Constitution, and Mr. Otis, the secretary of the Senate, held up the Bible on its crimson cushion. The oath was read slowly and distinctly; Washington at the same time laying his hand on the open Bible. When it was concluded, he replied solemnly, "I swear—so help me God!" Mr. Otis would have raised the Bible to his lips, but he bowed down reverently and kissed it.

The chancellor now stept forward, waved his hand and exclaimed: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" At this moment a flag was displayed on the cupola of the hall, on which signal there was a general discharge of artillery on the Battery. All the bells of the city rang out a joyful peal, and the multitude rent the air with acclamations.

Washington again bowed to the people and re-

turned into the senate chamber, where he delivered, to both houses of Congress, his inaugural address, characterized by his usual modesty, moderation, and good sense, but uttered with a voice deep, slightly tremulous, and so low as to demand close attention in the listeners. After this he proceeded with the whole assemblage on foot to St. Paul's Church,[4] where prayers suited to the occasion were read by Dr. Prevost, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, who had been appointed by the Senate one of the chaplains of Congress. So closed the ceremonies of the inauguration.

[4] The pew used by Washington while he remained in New York is still preserved in St. Paul's, and is marked with a commemorative tablet.

WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, THE STATE DINNER, AND THE LEVEE

(1789)

BY WILLIAM MACLAY[1]

As the company returned into the senate chamber, the President took the chair and the Senators and Representatives their seats. He rose, and all arose also, and addrest them. This great man was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket. He trembled, and several times could scarce make out to read, tho it must be supposed he had often read it before. He put part of the fingers of his left hand into the side of what I think the tailors call the fall of the breeches, changing the paper into his left hand. After some time he then did the same with some of the fingers of his right hand. When he came to the words *all the world*, he made a flourish with his right hand, which left rather an

[1] From Maclay's "Journal," edited by Edgar S. Maclay. William Maclay was a United States Senator from Pennsylvania. He had served in the war with France and in the Revolution and belonged to the extreme wing of those who favored radical democratic ideas in government. He thus became prominent in the opposition to Washington and the Federalists. The passage herewith given from his "Journal" illustrates his point of view. It is printed here by permission of Edgar S. Maclay, author of a well-known "History of the Navy."

ungainly impression. I sincerely, for my part, wished all set ceremony in the hands of the dancing-masters, and that this first of men had read off his address in the plainest manner, without ever taking his eyes from the paper, for I felt hurt that he was not first in everything. He was drest in deep brown, with metal buttons, with an eagle on them, white stockings, a bag, and sword. . . .

[Aug. 27.] Senate adjourned early. At a little after four I called on Mr. Bassett, of the Delaware State. He went to the President's to dinner.[2] The President and Mrs. Washington sat opposite each other in the middle of the table; the two secretaries, one at each end. It was a great dinner, and the best of the kind I ever was at. The room, however, was disagreeably warm.

First was the soup; fish roasted and boiled; meats, gammon, fowls, etc. This was the dinner. The middle of the table was garnished in the usual tasty way, with small images, flowers (artificial), etc. The dessert was, first apple-pies, puddings, etc.; then iced creams, jellies, etc., then watermelons, muskmelons, apples, peaches, nuts.

It was the most solemn dinner ever I sat at. Not a health drank; scarce a word said until the cloth was taken away. Then the President, filling a glass of wine, with great formality drank to the health of every individual by name round the table. Everybody imitated him, charged glasses, and such a buzz of "health, sir," and "health, madam," and "thank you, sir," and "thank you, madam," never

[2] The house occupied by Washington during his residence in New York was the Franklin House, which stood on the north side of what is now known as Franklin Square. It was built about 1770.

had I heard before. Indeed, I had liked to have been thrown out in the hurry; but I got a little wine in my glass, and passed the ceremony. The ladies sat a good while, and the bottles passed about; but there was a dead silence almost. Mrs. Washington at last withdrew with the ladies.

I expected the men would now begin, but the same stillness remained. The President told of a New England clergyman who had lost a hat and wig in passing a river called the Brunks. He smiled, and everybody else laughed. He now and then said a sentence or two on some common subject, and what he said was not amiss. The President kept a fork in his hand, when the cloth was taken away, I thought for the purpose of picking nuts. He ate no nuts, however, but played with the fork, striking on the edge of the table with it. We did not sit long after the ladies retired. The President rose, went upstairs to drink coffee; the company followed. I took my hat and came home.

This was levee day, and I accordingly drest and did the needful. It is an idle thing, but what is the life of men but folly?—and this is perhaps as innocent as any of them, so far as respects the persons acting. The practise, however, considered as a feature of royalty, is certainly anti-republican. This certainly escapes nobody. The royalists glory in it as a point gained. Republicans are borne down by fashion and a fear of being charged with a want of respect to General Washington. If there is treason in the wish I retract it, but would to God this same General Washington were in heaven! We would not then have him brought forward as the constant cover to every unconstitutional and irrepublican act.

GRAY'S DISCOVERY OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

(1791)

BY EDWARD G. PORTER[1]

Few ships, if any, in our merchant marine, since the organization of the Republic, have acquired such distinction as the *Columbia*. By two noteworthy achievements a hundred years ago, she attracted the attention of the commercial world, and rendered a service to the United States unparalleled in our history. She was the first American vessel to carry the stars and stripes around the globe; and, by her discovery of "the great river of the West," to which her name was given, she furnished us with the title to our possession of that magnificent domain, which to-day is represented by the flourishing young States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. . . .

The *Columbia* left Boston on the 28th of September, 1790, calling only at the Falkland Islands, and arrived at Clayoquot June 4, 1791—a quicker passage by nearly four months than the previous one. Obedient to his instructions, Captain Gray soon went on a cruise up the coast, passing along the east side of Washington's Islands (Queen

[1] Mr. Porter, after much careful research, wrote this paper for the Oregon centennial year (1892), and published it in the *New England Magazine*. He was a clergyman much interested in American historical research. The paper has been reprinted in "Old South Leaflets."

Charlotte's) and exploring the numerous channels and harbors of that picturesque but lonely region

Gray soon after took his ship on a cruise which was destined to be the most important of all—one that will be remembered as long as the United States exist. On the 29th of April, 1792, he fell in with Vancouver, who had been sent out from England with three vessels of the Royal Navy as commissioner to execute the provisions of the Nootka Treaty, and to explore the coast. Vancouver said he had made no discoveries as yet, and inquired if Gray had made any. The Yankee captain replied that he had; that in latitude 46° 10′ he had recently been off the mouth of a river which for nine days he tried to enter, but the outset was so strong as to prevent. He was going to try it again, however. Vancouver said this must have been the opening passed by him two days before, which he thought might be "a small river," inaccessible on account of the breakers extending across it, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent. "Not considering this opening worthy of more attention," wrote Vancouver in his journal, "I continued our pursuit to the northwest." What a turn in the tide of events was that! Had the British navigator really seen the river, it would certainly have had another name and another history.

Gray continued his "pursuit" to the southeast, whither the star of his destiny was directing him. On the 7th of May he saw an entrance in latitude 46° 58′ "which had a very good appearance of a harbor"; and observing from the masthead a passage between the sand bars, he bore away and ran in. This he called Bulfinch Harbor, though it was

very soon after called, as a deserved compliment to him, Gray's Harbor—the name which it still bears. Here he was attacked by the natives, and obliged in self-defense to fire upon them with serious results. Davidson's drawing gives a weird view of the scene.

On the evening of May 10 Gray resumed his course to the south; and at daybreak, on the 11th, he saw "the entrance of his desired port" a long way off. As he drew near about eight o'clock, he bore away with all sails set, and ran in between the breakers. To his great delight he found himself in a large river of fresh water, up which he steered ten miles. There were Indian villages at intervals along the banks, and many canoes came out to inspect the strange visitor.

The ship came to anchor at one o'clock in ten fathoms of water, half a mile from the northern shore and two miles and a half from the southern, the river being three or four miles wide all the way along. Here they remained three days busily trading and taking in water.

On the 14th he stood up the river some fifteen miles farther, "and doubted not it was navigable upward of a hundred." He found the channel on that side, however, so very narrow and crooked that the ship grounded on the sandy bottom; but they backed off without difficulty. The jolly-boat was sent out to sound the channel, but, finding it still shallow, Gray decided to return; and on the 15th he dropt down with the tide, going ashore with his clerk "to take a short view of the country."

On the 16th he anchored off the village of Chenook, whose population turned out in great numbers. The next day the ship was painted, and all

hands were busily at work. On the 19th they landed near the mouth of the river, and formally named it, after the ship, the Columbia, raising the American flag and planting coins under a large pine tree, thus taking possession in the name of the United States. The conspicuous headland was named Cape Hancock, and the low sandspit opposite, Point Adams.

The writer is well aware that the word "discovery" may be taken in different senses. When it is claimed that Captain Gray *discovered* this river, the meaning is that he was the first white man to cross its bar and sail up its broad expanse, and give it a name. Undoubtedly, Carver—to whom the word "Oregon" is traced—may have heard of the river in 1767 from the Indians in the Rocky Mountains; and Heceta, in 1775, was near enough to its mouth to believe in its existence; and Meares, in 1788, named Cape Disappointment and Deception Bay. But none of these can be properly said to have *discovered the river*. Certainly, Meares, whose claim England maintained so long, showed by the very names he gave to the cape and the "bay" that he was, after all, deceived about it; and he gives no suggestion of the river on his map. D'Aguilar was credited with finding a great river as far back as 1603; but, according to his latitude, it was not this river; and, even if it was, there is no evidence that he entered it.

The honor of discovery must practically rest with Gray. His was the first ship to cleave its waters; his, the first chart ever made of its shores; his, the first landing ever effected there by a civilized man; and the name he gave it has been universally accepted. The flag which he there threw to the

breeze was the first ensign of any nation that ever waved over those unexplored banks. And the ceremony of occupation, under such circumstances, was something more than a holiday pastime. It was a serious act, performed in sober earnest, and reported to the world as soon as possible.

And when we remember that as a result of this came the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-5, and the settlement at Astoria in 1811—to say nothing of our diplomatic acquisition of the old Spanish rights—then we may safely say that the title of the United States to the Columbia River and its tributaries becomes incontestable. Such was the outcome of the "Oregon Question" in 1846. . . .

At last, after all her wanderings, the good ship reached Boston, July 9, 1793, and received another hearty welcome. Altho the expectation of the owners were not realized, one of them wrote "she has made a saving voyage and some profit." But in the popular mind the discovery of the great river was sufficient "profit" for any vessel; and this alone will immortalize the owners as well as the ship and her captain.

It remains only to add that in a few years the ship was worn out and taken to pieces, and soon her chief officers all passed away. Kendrick never returned to America. After opening a trade in sandal-wood, he was accidentally killed at the Hawaiian Islands, and the *Lady Washington* was soon after lost in the Straits of Malacca. His Nootka lands never brought anything to the captain or his descendants or to the owners of the ship. In fact, the title was never confirmed. Gray commanded several vessels after this, but died in 1806 at Charleston, S. C.

THE INVENTION OF THE COTTON GIN

(1793)

BY HORACE GREELEY[1]

In the British colonies now composing this country the experiment of cotton-planting was tried so early as 1621; and in 1666 the growth of the cotton-plant is on record. The cultivation slowly and fitfully expanded throughout the following century, extending northward to the eastern shore of Maryland and the southernmost point of New Jersey—where, however, the plant was grown more for ornament than use. It is stated that "seven bags of cotton-wool" were among the exports of Charleston, S. C., in 1748, and that trifling shipments from that port were likewise made in 1754 and 1757. In 1784, it is recorded that eight bags, shipped to

[1] From Greeley's "American Conflict." Eli Whitney, the inventor of this famous device by which it became possible for the Southern States to substitute machinery for hand labor and thus to increase their output of cotton tremendously, was born in Westboro, Mass., in 1765, and died in 1825. Historians and economists have agreed as to the great importance of his invention. It affected not only the local cotton industry itself, but the commercial relations of the United States with Great Britain and the world at large, and had a very distinct, if not controlling, influence on the extension of slavery, and hence in bringing on the Civil War. Macaulay has remarked that what Peter the Great did to make Russia dominant in Europe Eli Whitney's invention more than equaled in the United States. Except for this invention cotton could scarcely ever have become "king."

England, were seized at the custom-house as fraudulently entered; "cotton not being a production of the United States." The export of 1790, as returned, was eighty-one bags; and the entire cotton crop of the United States at that time was probably less than the product of some single plantation in our day.

For, tho the plant grew luxuriantly and produced abundantly throughout tidewater Virginia and all that portion of our country lying southward and southwestward of Richmond, yet the enormous labor required to separate the seed from the tiny handful of fibers wherein it was imbedded, precluded its extensive and profitable cultivation. It was calculated that the perfect separation of one pound of fiber from the seed was an average day's work; and this fact presented a formidable barrier to the production of the staple in any but a region like India, where labor can be hired for a price below the cost of subsisting slaves, however wretchedly, in this country. It seemed that the limit of American cotton cultivation had been fully reached, when an event occurred which speedily revolutionized the industry of our slave-holding States and the commerce and manufactures of the world.

Eli Whitney, a native of Westborough, Worcester County, Massachusetts, born December 8, 1765, was descended on both sides from ancestors of English stock, who dated their migration from the old country nearly back to the memorable voyage of the *Mayflower*. They were generally farmers, and, like most farmers of those days, in very moderate circumstances. Eli's father, poor, industrious, and ingenious, had a workshop wherein he devoted the inclement season to the making of

wheels and of chairs. Here the son early developed a remarkable ingenuity and mechanical skill; establishing, when only fifteen years of age, the manufacture by hand of wrought nails, for which there was, in those later years of our Revolutionary struggle, a demand at high prices. Tho he had had no instruction in nail-making, and his few implements were of the rudest description, he pursued the business through two winters with profit to his father, devoting the summers to the farm.

After the close of the war, his nails being no longer in demand, he engaged in the manufacture of the pins then in fashion for fastening ladies' bonnets, and nearly monopolized the market through the excellence of his product. Walking canes also were among his winter manufactures, and were esteemed peculiarly well made and handsome. Meantime, he continued the devotion of his summers to the labors of the farm, attending the common school of his district through its winter session, and being therein noted for devotion to, and eminent skill in, arithmetic. At fourteen, he was looked upon by his neighbors as a very remarkable, energetic, and intelligent youth. At nineteen, he resolved to obtain a liberal education; but it was not until he had reached the mature age of twenty-three that he was enabled to enter college. By turns laboring with his hands and teaching school, he obtained the means of prosecuting his studies in Yale, which he entered in May, 1789. He borrowed some money to aid him in his progress, giving his note therefor, and paying it so soon as he could. On the decease of his father, some years afterward, he took an active part in settling the estate, but relinquished his portion to his coheirs.

It is scarcely probable that the amount he thus sacrificed was large, but the generous spirit he evinced is not thereby obscured.

While in college, his natural superiority in mechanism and proclivity to invention were frequently manifested. On one occasion a tutor regretted to his pupils that he could not exhibit a desired philosophical experiment, because the apparatus was out of order, and could only be repaired in Europe. Young Whitney thereupon proposed to undertake the repair, and made it to perfect satisfaction. At another time, he asked permission to use at intervals the tools of a carpenter who worked near his boarding-place; but the careful mechanic declined to trust them in the hands of a student, unless the gentleman with whom Mr. Whitney boarded would become responsible for their safe return. The guarantee was given, and Mr. Whitney took the tools in hand; when the carpenter, surprized at his dexterity, exclaimed: "There was one good mechanic spoiled when *you* went to college."

Mr. Whitney graduated in the fall of 1792, and directly engaged with a Mr. B., from Georgia, to proceed to that State and reside in his employer's family as a private teacher. On his way thither, he had as a traveling companion, Mrs. Greene, widow of the eminent Revolutionary general,[2] Na-

[2] General Greene's services in this war were surpassed by those of no other general except Washington, and perhaps Arnold—Arnold except for his treason. Greene was born in Rhode Island, and distinguished himself at Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. In 1780 he succeeded Gates in command of the army in the South, where he fought several battles. He died near Savannah in 1786.

thaniel Greene, who was returning with her children to Savannah, after spending the summer at the North. His health being infirm on his arrival at Savannah, Mrs. Greene kindly invited him to the hospitalities of her residence until he should become fully restored. Short of money and in a land of strangers, he was now coolly informed by his employer that his services were not required, he (B.) having employed another teacher in his stead! Mrs. Greene hereupon urged him to make her house his home so long as that should be desirable, and pursue under her roof the study of the law, which he then contemplated. He gratefully accepted the offer, and commenced the study accordingly.

Mrs. Greene happened to be engaged in embroidering on a peculiar frame known as a tambour. It was badly constructed, so that it injured the fabric while it impeded its production. Mr. Whitney eagerly volunteered to make her a better, and did so on a plan wholly new, to her great delight and that of her children.

A large party of Georgians, from Augusta and the plantations above, soon after paid Mrs. Greene a visit, several of them being officers who had served under her husband in the Revolutionary war. Among the topics discust by them around her fireside was the deprest state of agriculture, and the impossibility of profitably extending the culture of the green-seed cotton, because of the trouble and expense incurred in separating the seed from the fiber. These representations impelled Mrs. Greene to say: "Gentlemen, apply to my young friend, Mr. Whitney—*he* can make anything." She thereupon took them into an adjacent

room, where she showed them her tambour-frame and several ingenious toys which Mr. Whitney had made for the gratification of her children. She then introduced them to Whitney himself, extolling his genius and commending him to their confidence and friendship. In the conversation which ensued, he observed that he had never seen cotton nor cotton-seed in his life.

Mr. Whitney promised nothing and gave little encouragement, but went to work. No cotton in the seed being at hand, he went to Savannah and searched there among warehouses and boats until he found a small parcel. This he carried home and secluded with himself in a basement room, where he set himself at work to devise and construct the implement required. Tools being few and rude, he was constrained to make better—drawing his own wire, because none could, at that time, be bought in the city of Savannah. Mrs. Greene and her next friend, Mr. Miller, whom she soon after married, were the only persons beside himself who were allowed the entrée of his workshop—in fact, the only ones who clearly knew what he was about. His mysterious hammering and tinkering in that solitary cell were subjects of infinite curiosity, marvel, and ridicule among the younger members of the family. But he did not interfere with their merriment, nor allow them to interfere with his enterprise; and, before the close of the winter, his machine was so nearly perfected that its success was no longer doubtful.

Mrs. Greene, too eager to realize and enjoy her friend's triumph, in view of the existing stagnation of Georgian industry, invited an assemblage at her house of leading gentlemen from various parts of

the State, and, on the first day after their meeting conducted them to a temporary building erected for the machine, in which they saw, with astonishment and delight, that one man with Whitney's invention, could separate more cotton from the seed in a single day than he could without it by the labor of months.

Mr. Phineas Miller, a native of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale, who had come to Georgia as the teacher of General Greene's children, and who, about this time, became the husband of his widow, now proposed a partnership with Mr. Whitney, by which he engaged to furnish funds to perfect the invention, secure the requisite patents, and manufacture the needed machines; the partners to share equally all profits and emoluments thence resulting. Their contract bears date May 27, 1793; and the firm of Miller & Whitney immediately commenced what they had good reason to expect would prove a most extensive and highly lucrative business. Mr. Whitney thereupon repaired to Connecticut, there to perfect his invention, secure his patent, and manufacture machines for the Southern market.

But his just and sanguine hopes were destined to signal and bitter disappointment. His invention was too valuable to be peacefully enjoyed; or, rather, it was the seeming and urgent interest of too many to rob him of the just reward of his achievement. . . . Reports of the nature and value of his invention were widely and rapidly circulated, creating intense excitement. Multitudes hastened from all quarters to see his original machine; but, no patent having yet been secured, it was deemed unsafe to gratify their curiosity; so

they broke open the building by night, and carried off the wonderful prize. Before he could complete his model and secure his patent, a number of imitations had been made and set to work, deviating in some respects from the original, in the hope of thus evading all penalty. . . .

Messrs. Miller and Whitney's plan of operations was essentially vicious.[3] They proposed to construct and retain the ownership of all the machines that might be needed, setting one up in each cotton-growing neighborhood, and ginning all the staple for every third pound of the product. Even at this rate the invention would have been one of enormous benefit to the planters—cotton being then worth from twenty-five to thirty-three cents per pound. But no single manufactory could turn out the gins so fast as wanted, and planters who might readily have consented to the terms of the patentees, had the machines been furnished so fast as required, could hardly be expected to acquiesce so readily in the necessity of doing without machines altogether because the patentees could not, tho others could, supply them. And then the manufacture of machines, to be constructed and worked by the patentees alone, involved a very large outlay of money, which must mainly be obtained by borrowing. Miller's means being soon exhausted, their first loan of two thousand dollars was made on the comparatively favorable condition of five per cent. premium, in addition to lawful interest.

But they were soon borrowing at twenty per cent. per month. Then there was sickness; Mr.

[3] So argued those who would use the gin in spite of Whitney's rights.

Whitney having a severe and tedious attack in 1794; after which the scarlet fever raged in New Haven, disabling many of his workmen; and soon the lawsuits, into which they were driven in defense of their patent, began to devour all the money they could make or borrow. In 1795 Whitney had another attack of sickness; and, on his return to New Haven, from three weeks of suffering in New York, learned that his manufactory, with all his machines and papers, had just been consumed by fire, whereby he found himself suddenly reduced to utter bankruptcy. Next came a report from England that the British manufacturers condemned and rejected the cotton cleaned by his machines, on the ground that the staple was greatly injured by the ginning process! And now no one would touch the ginned cotton; and blockheads were found to insist that the roller-gin—a preposterous rival to Whitney's whereby the seed was crusht in the fiber, instead of being separated from it—was actually a better machine than Whitney's! In the depths of their distress and insolvency, Miller wrote (April 7, 1796) from Georgia to Whitney, urging him to hasten to London, there to counteract the prejudice against ginned cotton.

Miller & Whitney's first suit against infringers now came to trial, before a Georgia jury; and, in spite of the judge's charge directly in the plaintiff's favor, a verdict was given for the defendant —a verdict from which there was no appeal. When the second suit was ready for trial at Savannah, no judge appeared, and, of course, no court was held. Meantime, the South fairly swarmed with pirates on the invention, of all kinds and degrees. . . .

Finally, in 1801, an agent wrote to his principals that, tho the planters of South Carolina would not pay their notes, many of them suggested a purchase of the right of the patentees for that State by its Legislature; and he urged Mr. Whitney to come to Columbia, and try to make an arrangement on this basis. Whitney did so, taking some letters and testimonials from the new President, Jefferson, and his Secretary of State, Madison, which were doubtless of service to him in his negotiations. His memorial having been duly submitted to the Legislature, proposing to sell the patent right for South Carolina for one hundred thousand dollars, the Legislature debated it, and finally offered for it fifty thousand—twenty thousand down, and ten thousand per anuum for three years. . . .

The next Legislature of South Carolina nullified the contract, suspended payment on the thirty thousand still due, and instituted a suit for the recovery of the twenty thousand that had been already paid!

North Carolina, to her honor be it recorded, in December, 1803, negotiated an arrangement with Mr. Whitney, whereby the Legislature laid a tax of two shillings and sixpence upon every saw employed in ginning cotton, to be continued for five years, which sum was to be collected by the sheriffs in the same manner as the public taxes; and, after deducting the expenses of collection, the avails were faithfully paid over to the patentee. The old North State was not extensively engaged in cotton-growing, and the pecuniary avails of this action were probably not large; but the arrangement seems to have been a fair one, and it was

never repudiated. South Carolina, it should in justice be said, through her Legislature of 1804, receded from her repudiation, and fulfilled her original contract.

Mr. Miller, the partner of Whitney, died, poor and embarrassed, on the 7th of December, 1803. At the term of the United States District Court for Georgia, held at Savannah in December, 1807, Mr. Whitney obtained a verdict against the pirates on his invention; his patent being now in the last year of its existence. . . .

Mr. Whitney's patent expired in 1808, leaving him a poorer man, doubtless, than tho he had never listened to the suggestions of his friend Mrs. Greene, and undertaken the invention of a machine, by means of which the annual production of cotton in the Southern States has been augmented by from some five or ten thousand bales in 1793 to over five millions of bales, or one million tons, in 1859;[4] this amount being at least three-fourths in weight, and seven-eighths in value, of all the cotton produced on the globe. To say that this invention was worth one thousand millions of dollars to the Slave States of this country is to place a very moderate estimate on its value. Mr. Whitney petitioned Congress, in 1812, for a renewal of his patent, setting forth the costly and embarrassing struggles he had been forced to make in defense of his right, and observing that he had been unable to obtain any decision on the merits of his claim until he had been eleven years in the law, and until thirteen of the fourteen years' life-

[4] The cotton crop in recent years has been: 1899, 11,235,383 bales; in 1909, 13,828,846 bales; in 1910, 10,650,961 bales; in 1911 about 15,000,000 bales.

time of his patent had expired. But the immense value of his invention stood directly in the way of any such acknowledgment of its merits and his righteous claims as the renewal he sought would have involved. Some liberal members from the cotton-growing region favored his petition, but a majority of the Southrons fiercely opposed it, and it was lost. . . .

In 1798, Mr. Whitney, despairing of ever achieving a competence from the proceeds of his cotton-gin, engaged in the manufacture of arms, near New Haven; and his rare capacity for this or any similar undertaking, joined with his invincible perseverance and energy, was finally rewarded with success. He was a most indefatigable worker; one of the first in his manufactory in the morning, and the last to leave it at night; able to make any implement or machine he required, or to invent a new one when that might be needed; and he ultimately achieved a competency. He made great improvements in the manufacture of firearms—improvements that have since been continued and perfected, until the American rifled musket of our day, made at the National Armory in Springfield, Massachusetts, is doubtless the most effective and perfect weapon known to mankind.[5] In 1817, Mr Whitney, now fifty-two years old, found himself fully relieved from pecuniary embarrassments and the harassing anxieties resulting therefrom. He was now married to Miss Henrietta F. Edwards, daughter of the Hon. Pierpont Edwards, United States District Judge for Connecticut; and four children, a son and three

[5] Springfield rifles came into general use during the Civil War.

daughters, were born to him in the next five years. In September, 1822, he was attacked by a dangerous and painful disease, which, with alternations of terrible suffering and comparative ease, preyed upon him until January 8, 1826, when he died, not quite sixty years of age.

THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC IN PHILADELPHIA

(1793)

BY MATTHEW CAREY[1]

The consternation of the people of Philadelphia, at this period, was carried beyond all bounds. Dismay and affright were visible in almost every person's countenance. Most of those who could, by any means, make it convenient, fled from the city. Of those who remained, many shut themselves up in their houses, being afraid to walk the streets. The smoke of tobacco being regarded as a preventive, many persons, even women and small boys, had cigars almost constantly in their mouths. Others, placing full confidence in garlic, chewed it almost the whole day; some kept it in their pockets and shoes. Many were afraid to allow the barbers or hair-dressers to come near them, as instances had occurred of some of them having shaved the dead, and many having engaged as

[1] From Carey's "Miscellaneous Essays," published in 1830. Carey was born in Dublin in 1760, and died in Philadelphia in 1839. He was a noted publicist and founded in Philadelphia a large publishing business. He also founded a newspaper, receiving financial aid from Lafayette. Among his friends was Franklin.

Philadelphia, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, suffered from two epidemics of yellow fever—one in 1793, which caused the death of 4,000 persons, and one in 1798, when 5,000 died. In the latter year the population which remained in the city during the plague was only 30,000.

bleeders. Some, who carried their caution pretty far, bought lancets for themselves, not daring to allow themselves to be bled with the lancets of the bleeders. Many houses were scarcely a moment in the day free from the smell of gunpowder, burned tobacco, niter, sprinkled vinegar, etc.

Some of the churches were almost deserted, and others wholly closed. The coffee-house was shut up, as was the city library, and most of the public offices—three, out of the four, daily papers were discontinued, as were some of the others. Many devoted no small portion of their time to purifying, scouring, and whitewashing their rooms. Those who ventured abroad had handkerchiefs or sponges, impregnated with vinegar or camphor, at their noses, or smelling-bottles full of thieves' vinegar. Others carried pieces of tarred rope in their hands or pockets, or camphor bags tied round their necks. The corpses of the most respectable citizens, even of those who had not died of the epidemic, were carried to the grave on the shafts of a chair, the horse driven by a negro, unattended by a friend or relation, and without any sort of ceremony. People uniformly and hastily shifted their course at the sight of a hearse coming toward them. Many never walked on the foot-path, but went into the middle of the streets, to avoid being infected in passing houses wherein people had died. Acquaintances and friends avoided each other in the streets, and only signified their regard by a cold nod.

The old custom of shaking hands fell into such general disuse, that many shrunk back with affright at even the offer of the hand. A person with a crape, or any appearance of mourning, was shunned like a viper. And many valued them-

selves highly on the skill and address with which they got to windward of every person whom they met. Indeed, it is not probable that London, at the last stage of the plague,[2] exhibited stronger marks of terror than were to be seen in Philadelphia from the 25th or 26th of August till late in September. When the citizens summoned resolution to walk abroad, and take the air, the sick cart conveying patients to the hospital, or the hearse carrying the dead to the grave, which were travelling almost the whole day, soon damped their spirits and plunged them again into despondency.

While affairs were in this deplorable state, and people at the lowest ebb of despair, we can not be astonished at the frightful scenes that were acted, which seemed to indicate a total dissolution of the bonds of society in the nearest and dearest connections. Who, without horror, can reflect on a husband, married perhaps for twenty years, deserting his wife in the last agony—a wife, unfeelingly, abandoning her husband on his death-bed—parents forsaking their children—children ungratefully flying from their parents, and resigning them to chance, often without an inquiry after their health or safety—masters hurrying off their faithful servants to Bushhill, even on suspicion of the fever,

[2] The great London plague, of which Daniel Defoe has left a memorable account, broke out in May, 1665, but at first spread slowly. The deaths in May were only 43, and in June, 590. The number then increased rapidly, being in July, 6,137; in August, 17,036; in September, 31,159. The total for the year was 68,596, in a population of 460,000, of whom two-thirds are believed to have fled, leaving, as the one-third who remained, about 180,000, of whom 68,596 died. A sudden decline set in during December, but the mortality continued through the next year, when nearly 2,000 deaths occurred.

and that at a time, when, almost like Tartarus, it was open to every visitant, but rarely returned any —servants abandoning tender and humane masters, who only wanted a little care to restore them to health and usefulness—who, I say, can think of these things without horror? Yet they were often exhibited throughout our city; and such was the force of habit, that the parties who were guilty of this cruelty, felt no remorse themselves—nor met with the censure from their fellow citizens which such conduct would have excited at any other period. Indeed, at this awful crisis, so much did *self* appear to engross the whole attention of many, that in some cases not more concern was felt for the loss of a parent, a husband, a wife, or an only child, than, on other occasions, would have been caused by the death of a faithful servant.

This kind of conduct produced scenes of distress and misery of which parallels are rarely to be met with, and which nothing could palliate, but the extraordinary public panic, and the great law of self-preservation, the dominion of which extends over the whole animated world. Men of affluent fortunes, who have given daily employment and sustenance to hundreds, have been abandoned to the care of a negro, after their wives, children, friends, clerks, and servants, had fled away, and left them to their fate. In some cases, at the commencement of the disorder, no money could procure proper attendance. With the poor, the case was, as might be expected, infinitely worse than with the rich. Many of these have perished, without a human being to hand them a drink of water, to administer medicines, or to perform any charitable office for them. Various instances have

occurred, of dead bodies found lying in the streets, of persons who had no house or habitation, and could procure no shelter.

A man and his wife, once in affluent circumstances, were found lying dead in bed, and between them was their child, a little infant, who was sucking its mother's breast. How long they had lain thus was uncertain.

A woman, whose husband had just died of the fever, was seized with the pains of parturition, and had nobody to assist her, as the women in the neighborhood were afraid to go into the house. She lay, for a considerable time, in a degree of anguish that will not bear description. At length, she struggled to reach the windows, and cried out for assistance. Two men, passing by, went upstairs; but they came at too late a stage. She was striving with death—and actually, in a few minutes, expired in their arms.

Another woman, whose husband and two children lay dead in the room with her, was in the same situation as the former, without a midwife, or any other person to aid her. Her cries at the window brought up one of the carters employed by the committee for the relief of the sick. With his assistance she was delivered of a child, which died in a few minutes, as did the mother, who was utterly exhausted by her labor, by the disorder, and by the dreadful spectacle before her. And thus lay, in one room, no less than five dead bodies, an entire family, carried off within a few hours. Instances have occurred, of respectable women, who, in their lying-in, have been obliged to depend on their maid-servants for assistance—and some have had none but from their husbands.

Some of the midwives were dead—and others had left the city.

A servant-girl, belonging to a family in this city, in which the fever had prevailed, was apprehensive of danger, and resolved to remove to a relation's house, in the country. She was, however, taken sick on the road, and returned to town, where she could find no person to receive her. One of the guardians of the poor provided a cart, and took her to the almshouse, into which she was refused admittance. She was brought back, but the guardian could not procure her a single night's lodging. And in fine, after every effort made to provide her shelter, she absolutely expired in the cart. This occurrence took place before Bushhill hospital was opened. . . .

A drunken sailor lay in the street, in the Northern Liberties, for a few hours asleep, and was supposed by the neighbors to be dead with the disorder; but they were too much afraid to make personal examination. They sent to the committee at the city hall for a cart and coffin. The carter took the man by the heels, and was going to put him into the coffin. Handling him roughly he awoke, and damning his eyes, asked him what he was about? The carter let him drop in a fright, and ran off as if a ghost was at his heels.

A lunatic, who had the malignant fever, was advised by his neighbors to go to Bushhill. He consented, and got into the cart; but soon changing his mind, he slipt out at the end, unknown to the carter, who, after a while, missing him, and seeing him at a distance running away, turned his horse about, and trotted hard after him. The other doubled his pace; and the carter whipt his horse

to a gallop; but the man turned a corner and hid himself in a house, leaving the mortified carter to return, and deliver an account of his ludicrous adventure. Several instances have occurred of the carters on their arrival at Bushhill, and proceeding to deliver up their charge, finding, to their amazement, the carts empty.

A woman, whose husband died, refused to have him buried in a coffin provided for her by one of her friends, as too paltry and mean. She bought an elegant and costly one—and had the other laid by in the yard. In a week she was herself a corpse —and was buried in the very coffin she had so much despised.

The wife of a man who lived in Walnut Street was seized with the malignant fever, and given over by the doctors. The husband abandoned her, and next night lay out of the house for fear of catching the infection. In the morning, taking it for granted, from the very low state she had been in, that she was dead, he purchased a coffin for her; but, on entering the house, was surprized to see her much recovered. He fell sick shortly after, died, and was buried in the very coffin which he had so precipitately bought for his wife, who is still living.

THE WHISKY INSURRECTION IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

(1794)

BY RICHARD HILDRETH[1]

Very shortly after the adjournment of Congress, steps were taken, under the new act on that subject, for enforcing the collection of the excise duty in the western counties of Pennsylvania. Indictments were found against a number of distillers who had neglected to enter their stills; and thirty warrants were issued, which the marshal of the district undertook to serve. He succeeded as to twenty-nine of them; but as, in company with General Neville, the inspector of the district, he was going to serve the thirtieth, they were intercepted by a party of armed men, who fired upon them and compelled them to fly for their lives.

The next morning Neville's house, in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, was attacked by an armed party of forty or more. In expectation of some such violence, the windows had been barricaded; Neville's negroes and other servants had been armed; and the assailants were repulsed with the loss of six men wounded, one of them mortally. Neville immediately applied for protection to two magistrates and militia officers of the county. Upon their declaration that, however willing, it was utterly out of their power to give it, he obtained a

[1] From Hildreth's "History of the United States." Edition of 1852. Published by Harper & Brothers.

detachment of eleven men from the neighboring garrison of Fort Pitt.[2] The next morning the assailants reappeared, five hundred strong, led on by one John Holcroft, who, under the assumed name of Tom the Tinker, had been deeply concerned in stirring up previous outrages against officers who attempted to enforce the law, and distillers who were disposed to submit to it.

On the approach of this force, Neville escaped from the house, leaving his kinsman, Major Fitzpatrick, with the soldiers, to make such defense or capitulation as might seem expedient. The assailants had appointed a committee of three as directors of the enterprise, and they had chosen as commander one McFarlane, formerly a lieutenant in the Continental service. The surrender of Neville was demanded, and, on information that he was gone, the admission of six men to search the house for the papers connected with his office. This being refused, a flag was sent for the women to leave the house, soon after which an attack was commenced. McFarlane was killed and several other of the assailants were wounded; but they succeeded in setting fire to the outhouses, and, as the flames threatened to spread, the garrison, three of whom had been wounded, found themselves obliged to surrender. The men were dismissed without injury, but all the buildings were burned to the ground. The marshal and the inspector's son, who came up just after the surrender, were made prisoners. The marshal was subjected to a good deal of abuse, and was only dismissed after a promise, extorted by threats of instant death, and guaranteed by young Neville, not to attempt

[2] Pittsburgh.

to serve any more processes west of the mountains. The next day a message was sent to Pittsburgh, where the inspector and the marshal had taken refuge, requiring the one to resign his office, and the other to give up the warrants in his possession. This they refused to do. The means of protection at Pittsburgh were small; and as the roads eastward would most likely be guarded, as the only means of escape, they embarked on the Ohio, descended as far as Marietta, and thence set out by land for Philadelphia, the greater part of the way through a wilderness.

The next decided step seems to have been a public meeting, held at Mingo Creek meeting-house, in the neighborhood of which most of the late rioters resided. Bradford and Marshall were both present; also Brackenridge, a lawyer of Pittsburgh, a leading member of the Democratic club of that vicinity, who attended, according to his own account, by special invitation. Bradford was for making common cause with the rioters. Brackenridge suggested that, however justifiable in itself, their conduct was nevertheless illegal, and that it was bad policy to draw into the same position those who might otherwise act as mediators. It was finally agreed to call a convention of delegates from all the townships west of the mountains, and from the adjoining counties of Maryland and Virginia, to meet in three weeks at Parkinson's Ferry, on the Monongahela.

Two or three days after this preliminary meeting, anxious to ascertain how the late proceedings had been represented, Bradford caused the mail from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia to be intercepted. Letters were found in it, from young Neville and

others, giving accounts, by no means satisfactory to the parties concerned, of the burning of the inspector's house, and of the late meeting at Mingo Creek. Without waiting for the proposed convention, a circular, signed by Bradford, Marshall, and four or five others, was forthwith addrest to the officers of the militia of the western counties, stating that, by the interception of the mail, important secrets had been discovered, which made necessary an expression of sentiment, not by words, but by actions. The officers were therefore called upon to muster as many volunteers as they could, to assemble on the first of August at the usual place of rendezvous, at Braddock's Field,[3] on the Monongahela, with arms and accouterments, and provisions for four days.

Meanwhile, the mail, with its contents, except the intercepted letters, was sent back to Pittsburgh, and the citizens of that town, to pacify the excitement, went through the form of expelling the obnoxious letter-writers.

The summons to the militia, tho it had only three days to circulate, and that among a population scattered over a wide extent of country, drew together not less than seven thousand armed men. Many afterward alleged that they went out of curiosity, and others, that their sole intention was to prevent mischief; and this was certainly the case with some who were present, among whom was Ross, the United States Senator. But the very fact of this prompt obedience to their orders could not but inspire the leaders with a high idea of their power and influence, while it tended also to increase

[3] The scene of Braddock's defeat as described in Volume III.

the mischief, by giving the impression to the public at large of a general unanimity of sentiment.

Colonel Cook, one of the judges of Fayette County, a member of the first popular convention held in Pennsylvania at the commencement of the Revolution, distinguished for his opposition to the excise, having repeatedly presided at the public meetings called to protest against it, was chosen president of this armed assembly. Albert Gallatin, the late rejected Senator, was appointed secretary.[4] Bradford, to whom everybody cringed, assumed the character of major-general, and reviewed the troops. A committee, to whom matters of business were referred, resolved that two more citizens of Pittsburgh should be expelled. The troops then marched into the town, and after receiving refreshments, which the terrified inhabitants hastened to furnish, the greater part marched out again. The more orderly dispersed; but several parties kept together, one of which destroyed a barn belonging to Major Fitzpatrick, and another attempted, but without success, to burn his house in Pittsburgh.

It was Bradford's design, in calling this armed body together, to get possession of Fort Pitt, and the arms and ammunition deposited in it; but, finding most of the principal militia officers unwilling to cooperate, that design was abandoned. Immediately after this armed assembly the remaining excise officers were expelled even from those districts in which the opposition had hitherto been less violent. Many outrages were committed, some

[4] Gallatin was afterward Secretary of the Treasury, in which office he gained great reputation as a financier. He was made Minister to France in 1816, and to England in 1826. He was a native of Geneva, Switzerland.

of the officers being cruelly treated, and their houses burned. The same spirit began to spread into the bordering counties of Virginia, and, as the day for the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry approached, things assumed a very threatening aspect. However opposition to the excise law might have been countenanced by the great body of the population, including the principal political leaders, the measures of actual resistance to it had been chiefly in the hands of a few violent and reckless individuals, who, sometimes by outrages and sometimes by threats, had kept in awe not only the excise officers, but such of the distillers also as were disposed to submit to the payment of the tax. This reign of terror was now extended and completely established. No one dared utter a word against the recent proceedings for fear of banishment, personal violence, or the destruction of his property.

News of the burning of Neville's house, of the meeting at Mingo Creek, and of the robbery of the mail soon reached Philadelphia. In the eyes of the President and his cabinet,[5] those incidents assumed a very serious character. With the arrival of news of the great triumphs achieved by the French arms, and of the subsidence of internal revolt under the terrible discipline of the Reign of Terror, the Democratic societies, recovering from the temporary check growing out of the conduct of Genet[6] and the disasters of the French

[5] Philadelphia was still the seat of the Federal Government, New York having been given up in 1790. The removal to Washington took place in 1800.

[6] Edmond Genet, a brother of Madame Campan, the memoir writer, became the French minister to the United

republic, had become more vigorous and violent than ever, and very unsparing in their attacks upon the policy of the federal administration. The Charleston society, on their own application, and on motion of the celebrated Collot d'Herbois, had been recognized by the Jacobin Club of Paris as an affiliated branch. The Democratic society of Washington County, one of those involved in the present disturbances, had recently passed strong resolutions, copied from those of Kentucky, on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi. The French agents were still active in Kentucky, and a secret understanding was suspected between all these parties.

The Democratic society of Philadelphia hastened indeed to pass resolutions, in which, after execrating the excise law, they declared, however, their disapproval of violent resistance. But no great faith was placed in their sincerity, or in the concurrence of the affiliated branches. In a contemporary letter to Governor Lee, of Virginia, Washington speaks of the leaders of these societies—the great body of the members knowing little of the real plan—as artful and designing men, whose great object was, under a display of popular and fascinating guises, to destroy all confidence in the administration, and likely, if not counteracted and their real character exposed, to shake the Government to its very foundation.

In the present inflammatory state of the public

States in 1792, and endeavored by popular agitation to force Washington to join France in her war against England. At the request of Washington the French Government appointed another minister. Genet remained in America, married here, and died at Schodack, on the Hudson.

mind, the resistance to the laws in western Pennsylvania, if not immediately checked, might find many imitators. Hamilton, Knox, and Bradford advised that the militia be called out at once. But upon a suggestion to Governor Mifflin to that effect, he exprest apprehensions that a resort to force might inflame and augment the existing opposition, and, by connecting with it other causes of complaint, might produce such an excitement as to make it necessary to call in aid from the neighboring States—a step by which jealousy and discontent would be still further aggravated. He even questioned whether the militia would "pay a passive obedience to the mandates of the government." He doubted also his own authority to make a call; for, whatever might be the case with the federal judiciary, it did not yet appear that the ordinary course of the State law was not able to punish the rioters and to maintain order. He was therefore disposed to be content for the present with a circular letter already dispatched to the State officers of the western counties, expressive of his indignation at the recent occurrences, and requiring the exertion of their utmost authority to suppress the tumults and to punish the offenders.

Mifflin's refusal removed all pretense for alleging that opportunity had not been afforded to the State of Pennsylvania to vindicate the authority of the laws by her own means. As the case seemed to require immediate interference, Washington resolved to take the responsibility on himself, and to act with vigor. A certificate was obtained, as the statute required, from a judge of the Supreme Court, that in the counties of Washington and Allegany the execution of the laws of the United

States was obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings. A proclamation was put forth requiring these opposers of the laws to desist, and a requisition was issued to the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia for a body of 13,000 men, raised afterward to 15,000. The insurgent counties could bring into the field about 16,000 fighting men. It was judged expedient to send a force such as would quite discourage any resistance.

The movement of the troops was fixt for the first of September. Meanwhile, three commissioners, appointed by the President, Senator Ross, Bradford, the attorney-general, and Yates, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, were dispatched to the insurgent counties, with discretionary authority to arrange, if possible, any time prior to the 14th of September, an effectual submission to the laws. Chief Justice McKean and General Irving were appointed commissioners on the part of the State. Simultaneously with this appointment, Mifflin issued two proclamations, one calling the Legislature together, the other requiring the rioters to submit, and announcing his determination to obey the President's call for militia.

The two boards of commissioners crossed the mountains together, and, on arriving in the disturbed district, found the convention, called by the meeting at Mingo Creek, already in session at Parkinson's Ferry. It consisted of upward of two hundred delegates, including two from that part of Bedford County west of the mountains, and three from Ohio County, in Virginia. Almost all the townships of the four western counties were fully

represented. Cook was chairman, and Gallatin secretary. The delegates were convened on an eminence, under the shade of trees, surrounded by a collection of spectators, some of them armed. Near by stood a liberty-pole, with the motto, "Liberty, and no excise! No asylum for cowards and traitors!" . . .

A few days after, as had been arranged, the committee of fifteen met the commissioners at Pittsburgh. Among the members of this committee were Bradford, Marshall, Cook, Gallatin, and Brackenridge, the whole, except Bradford, being inclined to an accommodation. . . . The demands of the commissioners were exceedingly moderate. They required from the committee of sixty an explicit declaration of their determination to submit to the laws, and a recommendation to the citizens at large to submit also, and to abstain from all opposition, direct or indirect, and especially from violence or threats against the excise officers or the complying distillers. Primary meetings were required to be held to test the sense of the citizens in these particulars. Should satisfactory assurances be given on or before the fourteenth of September, the commissioners promised a suspension till the next July of all prosecutions for offenses prior in date to this arrangement; and in case the law, during that interval, should be generally complied with, in good faith, a final pardon, and oblivion of all such offenses.

The committee of fifteen pronounced these terms reasonable; and, to give more time to carry out the arrangement, they agreed to anticipate by four days the calling together of the committee of sixty. Meanwhile a report spread that the conferees had

been bribed; indeed, that charge was made in express terms in a letter of Tom the Tinker to the Pittsburgh *Gazette,* which the printer, as was the case with other communications of that anonymous personage, did not dare to omit to publish. While the members of the committee of sixty were collecting at Brownsville, the place appointed for the meeting, an armed party of horse and foot entered the town with drums beating. The friends of submission were so intimidated that, but for Gallatin, they would have abandoned all thoughts of urging an accommodation. Bradford insisted on taking the question at once; but, by the exercise of some address, the matter was postponed till the next day, and meanwhile the armed party were persuaded to return to their homes. . . .

The new conferees asked of the commissioners further delay till the 10th of October, to ascertain the sense of the people; but this was declined as being beyond their authority. They now required that meetings should be held in the several townships on the eleventh of September, any two or more members of the late committee of sixty, or any justice of the peace to preside, at which the citizens should vote yea or nay on the question of submitting to and supporting the law, all those voting in the affirmative to sign a declaration to that effect, which was to secure them an amnesty as to past offenses. The third day after the vote, the presiding officers were to assemble in their respective county court houses, to ascertain the number of votes both ways, and to declare their opinion in writing whether the submission was so general that excise inspection offices could be reestablished with safety; all the papers to be forwarded to the

commissioners at Union Town by the sixteenth of the month.

Meetings were held under this arrangement in many of the townships, but the result, on the whole, was quite unsatisfactory. Most of the more intelligent leaders were careful to provide for their own safety by signing the required submission; but many of those who had taken no active part in resisting the law refused to attend, or to pledge themselves to obedience. As they had committed no offense, such was their argument, they ought not to be required to submit—as if winking at the violation of law and neglecting to assist in its enforcement were not among the greatest of offenses. In some townships the meetings were violently broken up and the papers torn to pieces. Such was the case in the town in which Findley resided, who, it seems, was personally insulted on the occasion. From Allegany County no returns were received. The judges of the vote in Westmoreland exprest the opinion that excise inspection offices could not be safely established in that county. In the other two counties the expression of any direct opinion was avoided; but these counties had always been more violent than Westmoreland. The better disposed part of the population had begun to form associations for mutual defense, and the opinion among them was quite universal that the presence of the troops was absolutely necessary.

Notwithstanding the timidity and alarms of Randolph[7] and others, real or pretended, the President's call for militia, as on the former appeal to

[7] Edmund Randolph, who was then Secretary of State and had been Attorney-General in Washington's first cabinet.

the people in the case of Genet, had been responded to with a spirit that gave new strength and confidence to the government. The Pennsylvanians at first were rather backward, and a draft ordered by Mifflin seemed likely, by reason, it was said, of defects in the militia laws, to prove a failure. But the Legislature, on coming together, having first denounced the insurgents in strong terms, to save the delays attendant on drafting, authorized the government to accept volunteers, to whom a bounty was offered. As if to make up for his former hesitation, and with a military sensibility to the disgrace of failing to meet the requisition, Mifflin, in a tour through the lower counties, as in several cases during the Revolutionary struggle, by the influence of his extraordinary popular eloquence, soon caused the ranks to be filled up. As a further stimulus, subscriptions were opened to support the wives and children of the volunteers during their absence. The quotas of the other States were promptly furnished, composed in a large part of volunteers. The troops of Virginia, led by Morgan,[8] and those of Maryland by Smith, the Baltimore member of Congress, forming together the left wing, assembled at Cumberland, thence to march across the mountains by Braddock's road; those of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, led by Governors Mifflin and Howell in person, and forming the right wing, had their rendezvous at Bedford, to cross the mountains by the northern or Pennsylvania route. The command-in-chief of the expedition was given to Governor Lee, of Virginia.

The commissioners having returned to Philadel-

[8] General Daniel Morgan of the Revolution, best known as "the hero of the Cowpens."

phia and made their report, the President the next day issued a new proclamation, giving notice of the advance of the troops—which, in anticipation of the failure of the mission, had already been put in motion—and commanding submission to the laws. There was the more need of decisive measures, as the spirit of disaffection was evidently spreading. At Greensburg, in Westmoreland county, a house in which the State commissioners lodged on their way home had been assailed by a mob, who demanded entrance, broke the windows, and were only driven away by threats of being fired upon. The same feeling had also spread to the east side of the mountains. At Carlisle, while on their way home, Judges McKean and Yates had required bonds of certain persons charged with seditious practises in erecting whisky or liberty poles. Hardly had they left the town when two hundred armed men marched in, and, being disappointed in seizing the judges, burned them in effigy, and committed other outrages. There were also signs of similar disturbances in the neighboring counties of Maryland; but these were soon supprest by a party of horse, who made more than a hundred prisoners, most of whom were committed to Hagerstown jail.

Calmer thoughts, and the news that the troops were marching against them, soon produced a change of feeling in the western counties. Bradford and others of the more violent fled the country. Encouraged by these symptoms of returning reason, the better disposed caused a new convention to be held at Parkinson's Ferry. Resolutions of submission were passed, and a declaration was agreed to, that the late failure in obtaining written

pledges was principally owing to want of time and information, to a prevailing sense of innocence, and to the idea that to sign the pledge required would imply a confession of guilt. Findley at last had mustered courage to take a decided part on the side of order; and he was dispatched, with one Redick, to convey these resolutions to the President, and to stop, if possible, the march of the troops.

At Carlisle these commissioners encountered the advance of the right wing, five or six thousand strong. Findley, who has left us a very labored apology for himself and his political friends, under the title of a "History of the Insurrection," found the troops, as he tells us, in a high state of excitement against the rebels. Two persons had been killed already; a man, run through the body by a soldier, whose bayonet he had seized when ordered to arrest him for insulting an officer, and a boy, accidentally shot by one of a party of light horse sent to arrest those concerned in the late riot at Carlisle. But in both these cases—and this was the only blood shed during the expedition—the parties concerned had been delivered over to the civil authorities for trial, and every effort was made by the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, both of whom had followed the troops to Carlisle, to preserve the strictest discipline, and to impress the necessity of avoiding all unnecessary violence and harshness. Findley, however, who was but just beginning to recover from the terror of having his buildings burned, or being himself tarred and feathered, by men whose violence he had found it much easier to stimulate than to control, seems to have been not a little frightened, on

the other hand, at the swagger, bluster, and loud words of some of the militia officers against the whisky rebels, whose insolent resistance to the laws had made necessary so long and fatiguing a march.

The President treated Findley and his brother ambassador with courtesy, and admitted them to several interviews; but did not see fit, from any evidence which they exhibited, to countermand the march of the troops. They hastened back, therefore, to procure more general and unequivocal assurances, which they hoped to transmit to Bedford, where Washington was again to meet the right wing, after inspecting the troops on the left. The Parkinson Ferry Convention, augmented by many discreet citizens, was again called together for the third time. Resolutions were passed declaring the competency of the civil authorities to enforce the laws, recommending all delinquents who had not already secured an indemnity to surrender for trial, and expressing the conviction that offices of inspection might be opened with safety, and that the excise duties would be paid. Findley hastened back with these resolutions, but before he reached the army the president had already returned to Philadelphia. Hamilton, however, remained behind, and was believed to act as the Presidents deputy.

The troops crossed the Alleganies in a heavy rain, up to their knees in mud, and not without severe suffering, which occasioned in the end a good many deaths. The two wings formed a junction at Union Town, and, as they advanced into the disaffected counties, the reestablishment of the authority of the law became complete. Having ar-

rived at Parkinson's Ferry, Lee issued a proclamation confirming the amnesty to those who had entitled themselves to it, and calling upon all the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to the United States.

A few days after, arrangements having been previously made for it, there was a general seizure, by parties detached for that purpose, of persons supposed to be criminally concerned in the late transactions. But as those against whom the strongest evidence existed had either fled the country or taken advantage of the amnesty, this seizure fell principally on persons who, without taking an active part, had been content with encouraging and stimulating others. Many were dismissed at once for want of evidence; and of those who were bound over for trial at Philadelphia, the greater part were afterward acquitted. . . .

Shortly after the seizure of prisoners, the greater part of the troops were withdrawn; but a body of twenty-five hundred men, under Morgan, remained through the winter encamped in the district. The advances necessary to sustain the troops in the field had been made out of a sum in the treasury of about $800,000, the unexpended balance of the foreign loans, Congress being trusted to for making good the deficiency. . . .

The vigor, energy, promptitude, and decision with which the federal authority had been vindicated; the general rally in its support, even on the part of many who had leaned more or less to the opposition; the reprobation everywhere exprest against violent resistance to the law; and the subdued tone, especially of the Democratic societies, made a great addition to the strength of the gov-

ernment. The Federalists exulted in this energetic display of authority, and Hamilton declared that proof at last had been given of the capacity of the government to sustain itself. In that point of view, both he and Washington considered the outbreak, however much to be lamented in other respects, as a fortunate occurrence.

ANTHONY WAYNE AND THE OHIO INDIANS

(1793—1794)

BY RICHARD HILDRETH[1]

Affairs on the Indian frontier still continued in an unsettled state. The commissioners appointed to negotiate with the hostile Northwestern tribes, accompanied by the missionary Heckewelder and by a deputation of Quakers, as the Indians had desired, on arriving at Fort Niagara, had been kindly received by Colonel Simcoe, commander, during the Revolutionary war, of a famous partizan corps in the British army, and just appointed governor of the newly erected province of Upper Canada. Embarking at Fort Erie, they landed presently at the entrance of the River Detroit, where they were met by a deputation from a preliminary council of the confederate Indians, then in session at the Maumee Rapids. These deputies desired to know if "their brothers the Bostonians," for so they designated the commissioners, were empowered to consent to the Ohio as a boundary. The commissioners replied that this was impossible, as settlements had been commenced north of the Ohio, which could not be abandoned; but they

[1] From Hildreth's "History of the United States." Edition of 1852. Published by Harper & Brothers. After the Revolution Wayne, the hero of Stony Point, became Commander-in-Chief of the army (1792), and departed for the West, where he built Fort Wayne, and, having defeated the Indians, negotiated the peace of 1795.

offered, if the Indians would confirm the limits established by the treaties of Forts McIntosh and Harmer, a larger present, in money and goods, than ever had been given at any one time since the white men sat foot in the country. They were authorized, in fact, to offer $50,000 down, and, in addition, annual presents forever to the amount of $10,000 a year. This answer of the commissioners having been reported to the Indian council, the question of accepting it was debated with a great deal of vehemence. The result was exprest in a written document sent to the commissioners, in which it was contended that the treaties of Forts McIntosh and Harmer, having been made by a few unauthorized chiefs, could not be considered as valid. As to confirming those treaties for money, that was of no value to them, while the land would afford means of subsistence to themselves and their children. This same money might better be employed in persuading the settlers north of the Ohio to remove. Since it was refused to concede the Ohio as a boundary, the negotiation was declared to be at an end.

The commissioners, much chagrined at this abrupt termination of their mission, without their having been admitted into the presence of the Indian council, ascribed the result to British influence. Very probably the inclination of the Indians was seconded by the advice of the Canadian traders and the British agents. Simcoe, however, had expressly denied having advised the Indians not to surrender any of their lands. He had also offered to act as mediator, but this offer the instructions of the commissioners would not allow them to accept.

Pending this negotiation, Wayne's troops had remained encamped in the vicinity of Cincinnati, where they suffered not a little from an epidemic influenza. Apprehending that the failure of the negotiation would be followed by an immediate attack upon the frontiers, Wayne marched with his army, and, leaving garrisons behind him at the intermediate posts, established himself, with twenty-six hundred regulars, in a fortified camp at Greenville, six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson. Here he was promptly joined by a thousand Kentucky volunteers, under General Scott,[2] raised by dint of great exertions, but who arrived too late to be of any essential aid. These volunteers were soon dismissed; but, to serve as a protection to the frontier, and to be ready for ulterior operations in the spring, the army remained encamped at Greenville during the winter. As all the supplies had to be carried some seventy miles through the woods on pack-horses, the support of the troops in that position was an expensive affair. A part of the legionary cavalry, stationed for the winter in Kentucky, was placed at the disposal of Governor Shelby, for the suppression of any attempts, should such be made, to raise men, under French commissions, for an expedition against Louisiana —a subject as to which information and orders had been sent to General Wayne and Governor St. Clair, as well as to Governor Shelby. . . .

Wayne had commenced operations early in the summer by pushing forward a strong detachment

[2] Not General Winfield Scott, who gained distinction in the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, and commanded for a time in the Civil War. Winfield Scott was not born until 1784.

from his camp at Greenville to occupy St. Clair's battle-field, twenty-four miles in advance. Fort Recovery, built upon this spot, was presently attacked by a large body of Indians, who were repulsed, however, after a two days' fight. But the Indians were not entirely unsuccessful, since they carried off three hundred pack-mules, and inflicted a loss of fifty men upon an escort of three times that number, which had just guarded a provision train to the fort, and lay encamped outside. Meanwhile, General Scott was employed in Kentucky in raising a body of mounted militia to reenforce Wayne's legion, which, garrisons deducted, did not much exceed two thousand effective men. Upon Scott's arrival with eleven hundred of these volunteers, Wayne advanced to the confluence of the Au Glaize and the Maumee. The Indians had expected the advance in another direction. Taken by surprize, they fled precipitately, and this "grand emporium" of the hostile tribes, as Wayne styled it, was gained without loss. Here were fields of corn, planted by the Indians, more extensive than any which Wayne had ever seen. The fertile margins of these beautiful rivers, for several miles above and below their junction, appeared one continued village. For the permanent occupation of this important district, a strong stockade was built, called Fort Defiance, and another, called Fort Adams, on the St. Mary's, as an intermediate post, to connect it with Fort Recovery. The main body of the Indians had retired down the Maumee about thirty miles, to the foot of the rapids, where the British had recently built a new fort. Wayne sent a messenger proposing to treat, to which the Indians replied by asking delay for ten days. On

receiving this answer the army was at once put in motion.

Two days they marched down the Maumee; a third was spent in reconnoitering the enemy, who were found encamped in a bushy wood, their left protected by the rocky bank of the river. The position of the Indians having been ascertained, the advance was resumed in the same order as before, the right flank of the legion leaning on the river, one battalion of the mounted volunteers on the left, another in the rear, and a strong detachment in front, to give notice when the enemy were found. As soon as the Indian fire was heard, the legion was formed in two lines, in the midst of a thick wood, the ground being covered with old fallen timber,[3] prostrated in some tornado, a position very favorable to the enemy, since the mounted volunteers could hardly act. The Indians were in three lines, extending from the river at right angles within supporting distance of each other. They seemed, from the weight of their fire, to be endeavoring to turn the left flank of the legion, whereupon Wayne ordered the second line into position on the left of the first. He also directed the mounted volunteers to attempt to gain the enemy's rear by a circuitous route, and Captain Campbell, with the legionary cavalry, to push in between the Indians and the river, the ground there being somewhat more open. Orders, simultaneously given, for the first line to start the enemy from his covert at the point of the bayonet, were obeyed with such alacrity that, before the other troops could get into position the Indians were completely routed.

[3] Called for this reason the Battle of the Fallen Timber.

Wayne lost a hundred and seven men in killed and wounded. Neither the loss nor the number of the Indians was ever ascertained. The Indian cornfields were ravaged close up to the British fort, and the establishment of McKee, the British Indian agent, was burned with the rest. It was the universal opinion in the army that the British had encouraged the Indians to fight. It was even believed that some of the militia from Detroit had been in the action; but that was utterly improbable. Some very tart correspondence passed between Wayne and the commander of the British fort, to whom a deserter had reported that Wayne intended to attack him, for which, indeed, the army was sufficiently ready had a good excuse and opportunity occurred.

Three days after the battle, Wayne fell back to Fort Defiance. The defenses were completed, intermediate posts were established, garrisons were left in Fort Defiance and Fort Recovery, and, after a very successful campaign of ninety days, during which he had marched three hundred miles along a road cut by the army, had gained a victory, driven the Indians from their principal settlement, destroyed their winter's provisions, and left a post in the heart of their country, Wayne returned with the legion into winter quarters at Greenville. The mounted volunteers, who had suffered severely from sickness, had been dismissed some time before.

THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON

(1799)

BY JOHN MARSHALL[1]

On Friday, the 13th of December, while attending to improvements on his estate, Washington was exposed to a light rain, by which his neck and hair became wet. Not apprehending danger from this circumstance, he passed the afternoon in the usual manner; but in the night was seized with an inflammatory affection of the windpipe. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain in the upper and fore part of the throat, a sense of stricture in the same part, a cough, and a difficult deglutition, which were soon succeeded by fever, and a quick and laborious respiration.

Twelve or fourteen ounces of blood were taken from his arm, but he would not permit a messenger to be dispatched for his family physician until the appearance of day. About eleven in the morning, Doctor Craik arrived; and, perceiving the extreme danger of the case, requested that two consulting physicians should be immediately sent for. The utmost exertion of medical skill were applied in vain. The powers of life were manifestly yielding to the force of the disorder; speaking became al-

[1] From Marshall's "Life of Washington," published in five volumes in 1804-07. Marshall was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1801 to 1835. His home was on the Potomac in Virginia, near Mount Vernon.

most impracticable, respiration became more and more contracted and imperfect, until half-past eleven on Saturday night, when, retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle.

During the short period of his illness he economized his time in arranging those few concerns which required his attention; and anticipated his approaching dissolution with every demonstration of that equanimity for which his life was so uniformly and singularly conspicuous.

The deep and wide-spreading grief occasioned by this melancholy event, assembled a great concourse of people for the purpose of paying the last tribute of respect to the first of Americans. His body, attended by military honors, and the ceremonies of religion, was deposited in the family vault at Mount Vernon on Wednesday, the 28th of December.

At the seat of government the intelligence of his death preceded that of his indisposition. On receiving it both Houses of Congress adjourned. On the succeeding day, as soon as the orders were read, the House of Representatives passed several resolutions expressive of their deep feeling for the illustrious deceased, the last of which directed, "that a committee in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citizens."

Immediately after the passage of these resolutions, a written message was received from the President accompanying a letter from Mr. Lear,[3]

[3] Tobias Lear, Washington's private secretary.

which he said, "will inform you that it had pleased divine providence to remove from this life our illustrious fellow citizen George Washington, by the purity of his life, and a long series of services to his country, rendered illustrious through the world. It remains for an affectionate and grateful people, in whose hearts he can never die, to pay suitable honor to his memory."

The members of the House of Representatives waited on the President in pursuance of a resolution which had been passed, and the Senate addrest a letter to him condoling with him on the loss the nation had sustained, in terms expressing their deep sense of the worth of the deceased. The President reciprocated, in his communications to each House, the same deep-felt and affectionate respect "for the most illustrious and beloved personage America had ever produced."

The halls of both Houses were shrouded in black, and the members wore mourning for the residue of the session. The joint committee which had been appointed to devise the mode by which the nation should express its feelings on this melancholy occasion, reported the following resolutions:

"That a marble monument be erected by the United States at the city of Washington, and that the family of General Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it; and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

"That there be a funeral procession from Congress Hall to the German Lutheran Church, in memory of General Washington, on Thursday the 26th instant, and that an oration be prepared at

the request of Congress, to be delivered before both Houses on that day; and that the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, be desired to request one of the members of Congress to prepare and deliver the same.

"That it be recommended to the people of the United States to wear crape on the left arm as a mourning for thirty days.

"That the President of the United States be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear to her person and character, of their condolence on the late affecting dispensation of Providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General Washington in the manner exprest in the first resolution.

"That the President be requested to issue his proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States the recommendation contained in the third resolution."

These resolutions passed both Houses unanimously; and those which would admit of immediate execution were carried into effect. The whole nation appeared in mourning. The funeral procession was grand and solemn; and the eloquent oration, which was delivered by General Lee,[3] was heard with profound attention and with deep interest. Similar marks of affliction were exhibited throughout the United States. In every part of the continent funeral orations were delivered, and

[3] General Henry Lee, surnamed "Light Horse Harry." He had served in the Revolution, and was now a member of Congress.

the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression of its grief.

To the letter of the President which transmitted to Mrs. Washington the resolutions of Congress, that lady answered: "Taught by the great example which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by Congress, which you have had the goodness to transmit to me; and in doing this, I need not, I can not say what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty."

The monument, however, has not been erected. That the great events of the political as well as military life of General Washington should be commemorated, could not be pleasing to those who had condemned, and who continued to condemn, the whole course of his administration. This resolution, altho it passed unanimously, had many enemies. That party which had long constituted the opposition, and which, tho the minority for the moment, nearly divided the House of Representatives, declared its preference for the equestrian statue which had been voted by Congress at the close of the war. The division between a statue and a monument was so nearly equal, that the session passed away without appropriation for either. The public feeling soon subsided, and those who quickly recovered their ascendency over the public sentiment, employed their influence to draw odium on the men who favored a monument; to represent that measure as a part of a general system to waste the public money; and to impress the idea that the only proper monument to the memory of a meritorious citizen was that which the people would

erect in their affections. A man who profest an opinion in favor of the monument was soon branded with the mark of an anti-republican.[4]

General Washington was rather above the common size. His frame was robust, and his constitution vigorous. His figure created in the beholder the idea of strength united with manly grace.

His manners were rather reserved than free; tho on all proper occasions he could relax sufficiently to show how highly he was gratified by the charms of conversation, and the pleasures of society. His person and whole deportment exhibited an unaffected and indescribable dignity, unmingled with haughtiness, of which all who approached him were sensible; and the attachment of those who possest his friendship and enjoyed his intimacy, tho ardent, was always respectful.

His temper was humane, benevolent, and conciliatory; but there was a quickness in his sensibility to anything apparently offensive, which experience had taught him to watch and to correct.

In the management of his private affairs, he exhibited an exact yet liberal economy. His funds were not wasted on capricious and ill-examined schemes, nor refused to beneficial, tho costly improvements. They remained, therefore, competent to that expensive establishment which his reputation, added to a hospitable temper, had, in some measure, imposed upon him; and to those donations which real distress has a right to claim from opulence.

[4] Marshall was writing in 1838. Out of this confused state of the public mind finally emerged the plans and construction of the present imposing monument to Washington near the White House.

He had no pretensions to that vivacity which fascinates, or to that wit which dazzles, and frequently imposes on the understanding. More solid than brilliant, judgment rather than genius constituted the prominent feature of his character.

No man has ever appeared upon the theater of human action whose integrity was more incorruptible, or whose principles were more perfectly free from the contamination of those selfish and unworthy passions which find their nourishment in the conflicts of party. His ends were always upright, and his means always pure. He exhibits the rare example of a politician to whom wiles were absolutely unknown. In him was fully exemplified the real distinction between wisdom and cunning, and the truth of the maxim that "honesty is the best policy."

Neither the extraordinary partiality of the American people, the extravagant praises which were bestowed upon him, nor the inveterate opposition and malignant calumnies which he encountered, had any visible influence on his conduct. The cause is to be looked for in the texture of his mind.

In him, that innate and unassuming modesty which adulation would have offended, which the voluntary plaudits of millions could not betray into indiscretion, and which never obtruded upon others his claims to superior consideration, was happily blended with a high and correct sense of personal dignity, and with a just consciousness of that respect which is due to station. . . .

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON

(1800)

BY ABIGAIL ADAMS[1]

I arrived here on Sunday last, and without meeting with any accident worth noticing, except losing ourselves when we left Baltimore, and going eight or nine miles on the Frederick road, by which means we were obliged to go the other eight through woods, where we wandered two hours without finding a guide or the path. Fortunately, a straggling black came up with us, and we engaged him as a guide, to extricate us out of our difficulty; but woods are all you see, from Baltimore until you reach the city, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing any human being. In the city there are buildings enough, if they were compact and finished, to accommodate Congress and those attached to it; but as they are, and scattered as they are, I see not great comfort for them.

[1]Abigail Adams was the wife of President John Adams. It was near the end of Adams's administration that Washington was first occupied by the Federal Government. At that time the place was entirely open country, scarcely more than a wilderness, in which appeared several buildings in process of construction. This letter, written in Washington on November 21, 1800, was addrest by Mrs. Adams to her daughter, Mrs. Smith.

The river, which runs up to Alexandria, is in full view of my window, and I see the vessels as they pass and repass. The house is upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables; an establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary. The lighting the apartments, from the kitchen to parlors and chambers, is a tax indeed; and the fires we are obliged to keep to secure us from daily agues is another very cheering comfort. To assist us in this great castle, and render less attendance necessary, bells are wholly wanting, not one single one being hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain. This is so great an inconvenience that I know not what to do, or how to do. The ladies from Georgetown and in the city have many of them visited me. Yesterday I returned fifteen visits —but such a place as Georgetown appears— why, our Milton[2] is beautiful. But no comparisons—if they will put me up some bells, and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased.

I could content myself almost anywhere three months; but, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people can not be found to cut and cart it! Briesler entered into a contract with a man to supply him with wood. A small part, a few cords only, has he been able to get. Most of that was expended to dry the walls of the house before we came in, and yesterday the man told him it was impossible for him to procure it to be cut and carted. He has

[2] Milton, Mass.

had recourse to coals; but we can not get grates made and set. We have, indeed, come into a new country.

You must keep all this to yourself, and when asked how I like it, say that I write you the situation is beautiful, which is true. The house is made habitable, but there is not a single apartment finished, and all withinside, except the plastering, has been done since Briesler came. We have not the least fence, yard, or other convenience, without, and the great unfinished audience-room I make a drying-room of, to hang up the clothes in. The principal stairs are not up, and will not be this winter. Six chambers are made comfortable; two are occupied by the President and Mr. Shaw; two lower rooms, one for a common parlor, and one for a levee-room. Upstairs there is the oval room, which is designed for the drawing-room, and has the crimson furniture in it. It is a very handsome room now; but, when completed it will be beautiful.

If the twelve years in which this place has been considered as the future seat of government had been improved, as they would have been if in New England, very many of the present inconveniences would have been removed. It is a beautiful spot, capable of every improvement, and, the more I view it the more I am delighted with it.

Since I sat down to write I have been called down to a servant from Mount Vernon, with a billet from Major Custis, and a haunch of venison, and a kind, congratulatory letter from Mrs. Lewis, upon my arrival in the city, with Mrs. Washington's love, inviting me to Mount Vernon, where, health permitting, I will go, before I leave this place.

The Senate is much behindhand. No Congress has yet been made. 'Tis said —— —— is on his way, but travels with so many delicacies in his rear that he can not get on fast, lest some of them should suffer.

Thomas comes in and says a House is made; so to-morrow, tho Saturday, the President will meet them. Adieu, my dear. Give my love to your brother, and tell him he is ever present upon my mind.

THE ELECTION OF JEFFERSON AFTER THE CONTEST WITH BURR

(1800)

BY THOMAS E. WATSON[1]

Under the old system of conducting presidential elections, that candidate who received the highest number of votes became President, the next Vice-President. Mr. Jefferson in 1796 had not been a candidate for the second place; nobody had voted for him to be Vice-President; yet he took the vice-presidency, because that was the law. He and John Adams had each striven for the presidency, while other candidates contested the second place. Yet neither of the candidates whom the people had voted for as Vice-President was allowed to serve. Such was the law, and it should be remembered in gaging the moral guilt of Aaron Burr.

Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr in the campaign of 1800 received 73 votes each; John Adams, on the opposition ticket, had 65. Thus the election was thrown into the House, and the law

[1] From Watson's "Life of Jefferson." By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton & Co. Copyright, 1903. Mr. Watson, whose home is in Georgia, has served in Congress and been the candidate of the Populist Party for Vice-President (1896) and the candidate of the People's Party for President (1894). He has written a history of France and a life of Napoleon.

plainly directed that a President should be chosen by the House from the candidates who had received the highest number of votes. Apparently the makers of the Constitution intended to vest the House with some discretion. The area of this discretion was limited, but it was there. Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams acted upon this idea when they afterward combined to defeat the will of the people, and to oust the majority candidate, Andrew Jackson. They were punished politically for this combination, but history has not placed Clay and Adams in her Rogues' Gallery.

Now in 1800 the custom as to presidential elections was not settled. By law, the electoral colleges were vested with the power of choosing for President and Vice-President men whose names had not been before the people at all. The Hamiltonian anti-Democratic plan gave them this power for the express purpose of depriving "the great beast" of the right to choose its rulers. Only by the irresistible force of popular sentiment have the electors been made the mere registers of the will of the people.

In 1800 the ideas controlling the case were so vague that nobody claimed the election of Jefferson to the first place, and Burr to the second. Ballots did not specify for which place the presidential candidate had contested. Therefore the Republican ticket of 1800 was simply Jefferson and Burr—represented by 73 votes in the electoral college.

These two names being the highest, the law required that they should both go before the House to be voted for as candidates for the presidency. Now, then, what ought Burr to have done? His

party had not intended him for the presidency—no voter had so intended. Should he take the office by operation of law? If Congress chose to exercise its discretion and make him the President, should he accept?

That is the case, and the whole case. Jefferson had taken the office of Vice-President by operation of law, excluding the candidate who had been chosen by the people for that lower place. Should the rule work both ways?

A man of the nicest honor like John Jay or James Madison would not have hesitated. He would have spurned even the appearance of evil, would not have allowed his name used to defeat the will of the people, would not have allowed political enemies in Congress to thrust upon him an office which political friends had not intended to give. When Federalism resorted to strategy to divide and conquer the Republicans by elevating Burr over Jefferson, the simplest dictates of honor required that Burr should stand by his friends and help to defeat the plots of the enemy.

That he did not do so was his unpardonable sin—unforgiven by his party and by the historian. He did not actively aid the Federalists. He stayed at Albany, where his daughter was about to marry,[2] and where legislative duties engaged him. He wrote a letter repudiating the plot of the Federalists and declining to give aid to the intrigue. He may have meant that Federalism should consider him a Barkis who was willing, but there is no proof that he went further than that.

As to Hamilton, the record is positively painful.

[2] Theodosia Burr, who was afterward lost at sea off Hatteras.

To see a really great man degrade himself to gratify a personal spleen is never an inspiring sight. During the previous campaign, Hamilton had exerted himself in a most treacherous, unscrupulous manner to have Pinckney, the Vice-presidential candidate on the Federalist ticket, come in ahead of John Adams.

Now that Federalism was snowed under, he set himself to sow discord between Jefferson and Burr. He wrote to that wily knave Oliver Wolcott a letter which is surely one of the meanest extant. After denouncing Burr for being bankrupt, Hamilton, who was himself insolvent, says in reference to Burr's supposed ambition to be President: "Yet it may be well to throw out a lure for him, in order to tempt him to start for the place, and then lay the foundation of disunion between the two chiefs." So it would seem that Burr needed tempting, required a lure, and the Federalists were to lay the net in order to bring about strife between Jefferson and Burr.

When it is borne in mind that it was the political strategy of the Federalists to play off one of these Republican chiefs against the other, and the only pretense of evidence we have against Burr as to his conduct at this time comes from Federalist sources, the whole case assumes a new aspect.

Had Burr been willing to go to Washington and canvass for the presidency, had he made the pledges which the Bayards of Federalism demanded, and which Jefferson's friends (unknown to Jefferson) did make, there can be no doubt that he would have been President of the United States. It only needed that he should crook his finger in the way of active self-help. And had Aaron Burr

become President who can say that he would not have made a good one—as good as R. B. Hayes, for example?

There were turns in the tide of national fortunes during the next few years when his indomitable courage, his fertility of resource, his decision of character, his address and firmness, might have been infinitely valuable to his country. Let us deal justly with this man. His nature had in it the seeds of good and of evil, and when his fortunes became desperate he soured on a world which he thought had been too hard on him, and the evil of his nature developed. It made him a criminal, an outlaw, an Ishmaelite.

But who is so very wise as to know that, had success continued to reward his ambition, he would not have identified that ambition with the best interests of his native land?

Burr's ability was conceded. He had been a brilliant soldier. As New York's Attorney-General and as United States Senator his record was so good that his name had been voted for in the electoral colleges twice before this. By sheer force of will and intellect he had wrested New York from the Hamilton-Schuyler faction, in defiance of the money power and the ultra-British aristocracy. It was believed that his morals were loose, but there had been no sickening Maria Reynolds exposures about him, and his family relations were as beautiful as those of Jefferson himself.

It was thought that he was politically tricky, but nobody had accused him of betraying his own party. His tricks were weapons aimed at the opposition, and they were popular with the Republicans, for they had gained New York. He had

never knifed a friend, as Hamilton and Wolcott stabbed John Adams. He had not tried to cut the ground from under the feet of his chief, as Hamilton had done in the recent campaign. He was a hard fighter, a fertile schemer, a selfish office-hunter, a man whose opinion of human nature was low. In other words, he was the earliest specimen of what afterward became recognized as a distinct type—he was a New York politician.

He founded Tammany, and set it going upon its mission—heavenward or hellward, according to the point of view. Health and recreation were not his political objects. Patriotism and principles were not supposed to be disturbers of his slumbers. Politics was a game, its stakes the spoils of office. The loser got out; the winner got in. Against one's adversary all was fair—for it was war. Hard blows were to be given and taken, mines to be sprung and countermines detected: nets to be laid and snares avoided.

This was New York politics, mildly drawn, and the record shows that Burr was no whit worse than the average. So immoral had become the tone that Alexander Hamilton, wishing to shirk the French treaty of 1778, had argued to Washington that the change of government in France had annulled the contract, and wishing to set aside the presidential candidate already virtually chosen by the people of New York, had applied to Governor Jay to reconvene the old Federalist Legislature in extra session, so that a new election by districts could be ordered and the will of the people defeated. So far had the feet of reputable statesmen wandered from the path of common rectitude that Hamilton paid the husband of his paramour al-

most as regularly as he paid his cook, used Wolcott as a spy upon Adams, and entered upon a secret league with Miranda to draw Washington and the United States army into wild expeditions of conquest. . . .

In a letter to Burr, dated December 15, 1800, while congratulating the brilliant New Yorker on his election as Vice-President, Jefferson expresses a regret that he, Jefferson, will not have the benefit of Burr's services in his administration—evidently meaning the Cabinet. "I had endeavored to compose an administration whose talents, integrity, names, and dispositions should inspire unbounded confidence in the public mind, etc. I lose you from the list, etc."

Mr. Jefferson classes Burr among those men of integrity who inspired unbounded confidence in the public mind, and with whom he had expected to compose his Cabinet. And there is nothing in Jefferson's writings, written at this time or previous to this time, which is in contradiction to what he wrote Burr.

JEFFERSON'S INFLUENCE ON THE COUNTRY

BY EDWARD M. SHEPARD[1]

When Abraham Lincoln was chosen President in 1860, this predecessor of his by a quarter century was a true historical figure. The bright, genial old man connected, visibly and really, those stirring and dangerous modern days with the first political struggles under the American Constitution, struggles then long passed into the quiet of history, to leave him almost their only living reminiscence. Martin Van Buren was a man fully grown and already a politician when in 1801 the triumph of Thomas Jefferson completed the political foundation of the United States. Its profound inspiration still remained with him on this eve of Lincoln's election. Under its influence his political career had begun and had ended.

At Jefferson's election the aspiration and fervor which attended the first, the new-born sense of American national life, had largely worn away. The ideal visions of human liberty had long before

[1] From Shepard's "Life of Martin Van Buren." By permission of and by arrangement with the authorized publishers, Houghton, Mifflin Company. Copyright, 1888, 1889. Mr. Shepard was an eminent lawyer in New York, at one time unsuccessful as the Democratic candidate for Mayor. In 1911 he became one of the leading candidates in New York for the United States Senate, but after a long contest failed of election. He died in the summer of that year.

grown dim during seven years of revolutionary war, with its practical hardships, its vicissitudes of meanness and glory, and during the four years of languor and political incompetence which followed. In the agitation for better union, political theories filled the minds of our forefathers. Lessons were learned from the Achæan League, as well as from the Swiss Confederation, the German Empire, and the British Constitution. Both history and speculation, however, were firmly subordinated to an extraordinary common sense, in part flowing from, as it was most finely exhibited in, the luminous and powerful, if unexalted, genius of Franklin.

From the open beginning of constitution-making at Annapolis in 1786 until the inauguration of John Adams, the American people, under the masterful governing of Washington, were concerned with the framework upon which the fabric of their political life was to be wrought. The framework was doubtless in itself of a vast and enduring importance. If the consolidating and aristocratic schemes of Hamilton had not met defeat in the federal convention, or if the separatist jealousies of Patrick Henry and George Clinton had not met defeat in Virginia and New York after the work of the convention was done, there would to-day be a different American people. Nor would our history be the amazing story of the hundred years past. But upon the governmental framework thus set up could be woven political fabrics widely and essentially different in their material, their use, and their enduring virtue.

For quite apart from the framework of government were the temper and traditions of popular politics out of which comes, and must always come,

the essential and dominant nature of public institutions. In this creative and deeper work Jefferson was engaged during his struggle for political power after returning from France in 1789, during his presidential career from 1801 to 1809, and during the more extraordinary, and in American history the unparalleled supremacy of his political genius after he had left office. In the circumstances of our colonial life, in our race extractions, in our race fusion upon the Atlantic seaboard, and in the moral effect of forcible and embittered separation from the parent country, arose indeed, to go no further back, the political instincts of American men. It is, however, fatal to adequate conception of our political development to ignore the enormous formative influence which the twenty years of Jefferson's rule had upon American political character. But so partial and sometimes so partizan have been the historians of our early national politics in their treatment of that great man, that a just appreciation of the political atmosphere in which Van Buren began his career is exceedingly difficult.

There was an American government, an American nation, when Washington gladly escaped to Mt. Vernon from the bitterly factional quarrels of the politicians at Philadelphia. The government was well ordered; the nation was respectable and dignified. But most of the people were either still colonial and provincial, or were rushing, in turbulence and bad temper, to crude speculations and theories. Twenty-five years later, Jefferson had become the political idol of the American people, a people completely and forever saturated with democratic aspirations, democratic ideals, what

John Marshall called "political metaphysics," a people with strong and lasting characteristics, no longer either colonial or provincial, but profoundly national.

The skill, the industry, the arts of the politician, had been used by a man gifted with the genius and not free from the faults of a philosopher, to plant in American usages, prejudices, and traditions—in the very fiber of American political life, a cardinal and fruitful idea. The work was done for all time. For Americans, government was thenceforth to be a mere instrument. No longer a symbol, or an ornament or crown of national life, however noble and august, it was a simple means to a plain end; to be always, and if need be rudely, tested and measured by its practical working, by its service to popular rights and needs.

In those earlier days, too, there had been "classes and masses," the former of whom held public service and public policy as matters of dignity and order and high assertion of national right and power, requiring in their ministers peculiar and esoteric light, and an equipment of which common men ought not to judge, because they could not judge aright. Afterward, in Monroe's era of good feeling, the personal rivalries of presidential candidates were in bad temper enough; but Americans were at last all Democrats. Whether for better or worse, the nation had ceased to be either British or colonial, or provincial, in its character. In the delightful Rip Van Winkle of a later Jefferson, during the twenty years' sleep, the old Dutch house has gone, the peasant's dress, the quaint inn with its village tapster, all the old scene of loyal provincial life. Rip returns to a noisy,

boastful, self-assertive town full of American "push" and "drive," and profane disregard of superiors and everything ancient.

It was hardly a less change which spread through the United States in the twenty years of Jefferson's unrivaled and fruitful leadership. Superstitious regard for the "well-born," for institutions of government as images of veneration apart from their immediate and practical use; the faith in government as essentially a financial establishment which ought to be on peculiarly friendly relations with banks and bankers; the treatment and consideration of our democratic organization as an experiment to be administered with deprecatory deference to European opinion; the idea that upon the great, simple elements of political belief and practise, the mass of men could not judge as wisely and safely as the opulent, the cultivated, the educated; the idea that it was a capital feature of political art to thwart the rashness and incompetence of the lower people—all these theories and traditions, which had firmly held most of the disciplined thought of Europe and America, and to which the lurid horrors of the French Revolution had brought apparent consecration—all these had now gone; all had been fatally wounded, or were sullenly and apologetically cherished in the aging bitterness of the Federalists.

There was an American people with as distinct, as powerful, as characteristic a polity as belonged to the British islanders. In 1776 a youthful genius had seized upon a colonial revolt against taxation as the occasion to make solemn declaration of a seeming abstraction about human rights. He had submitted, however, to subordinate his theory dur-

ing the organization of national defense and the strengthening of the framework of government. Nor did he shine in either of those works. But with the nation established, with a union secured so that its people could safely attend to the simpler elements of human rights, Jefferson and his disciples were able to lead Americans to the temper, the aspirations, and the very prejudices of essential democracy. The Declaration of Independence, the ten amendments to the Constitution theoretically formulating the rights of men or of the States, sank deep into the sources of American political life. So completely indeed was the work done, that in 1820 there was but one political party in America; all were Jeffersonian Republicans; and when the Republican party was broken up in 1824, the only dispute was whether Adams or Jackson or Crawford or Clay or Calhoun best represented the political beliefs now almost universal. It seemed to Americans as if they had never known any other beliefs, as if these doctrines of their democracy were truisms to which the rest of the world was marvelously blind.

Nothing in American public life has, in prolonged anger and even savage desperation, equaled the attacks upon Jefferson during the steady growth of his stupendous influence. The hatred of him personally, and the belief in the wickedness of his private and public life, survive in our time. Nine-tenths of the Americans who then read books sincerely thought him an enemy of mankind and of all that was sacred. Nine-tenths of the authors of American books on history or politics have to this day written under the influence which ninety years ago controlled their predecessors. And

for this there is no little reason. As the American people grew conscious of their own peculiar and intensely active political force, there came to them a period of national and popular life in which much was unlovely, much was crude, much was disagreeably vulgar. Books upon America written by foreign travelers, from the days of Jefferson down to our civil war, superficial and offensive as they often were, told a great deal of truth. We do not now need to wince at criticisms upon a rawness, an insolent condescension toward the political ignorance of foreigners and the unhappy subjects of kings, a harshness in the assertion of the equality of Caucasian men, and a restless, boastful manner.

The criticisms were in great measure just. But the critics were stupid and blind not to see the vast and vital work and change going on before their eyes, to chiefly regard the trifling and incidental things which disgusted them. Their eyes were open to all our faults of taste and manner, but closed to the self-dependent and self-assertive energy the disorder of whose exhibition would surely pass away. In every democratic experiment, in every experiment of popular or national freedom, there is almost inevitable a vulgarizing of public manners, a lack of dignity in details, which disturbs men who find restful delight in orderly and decorous public life; and their disgust is too often directed against beneficent political changes or reforms. If one were to judge the political temper of the American people from many of our own writers, and still more if he were to judge it from the observations even of intelligent and friendly foreigners prior to 1861, he

would believe that temper to be sordid, mean, noisy, boastful, and even cruel.

But from the war of 1812 with England to the election of Buchanan in 1856, the American people had been doing a profound, organic, democratic work. Meantime many had seen no more than the unsightly, the mean and trivial, the malodorous details, which were mere incidents and blemishes of hidden and dynamic operations. Unimaginative minds usually fail to see the greater and deeper movements of politics as well as those of science. In the public virtues then maturing there lay the ability long and strenuously to conduct an enterprise the greatest which modern times have known, and an extraordinary popular capacity for restraint and discipline. In those virtues was sleeping a tremendously national spirit which, with cost and sacrifice not to be measured by the vast figures of the statistician, on one side sought independence, and on the other saved the Union—an exalted love of men and truth and liberty, which, after all the enervations of pecuniary prosperity, endured with patience hardships and losses, and the less heroic but often more dangerous distresses of taxation—at the North a magnanimity in victory unequaled in the traditions of men, and at the South a composure and dignity and absence of either bitterness or meanness which brought out of defeat far larger treasures than could have come with victory.

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

(1803)

I

AN OUTLINE HISTORY BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES[1]

Upon the eve of the downfall of New France, when the inevitable was plainly foreseen, Louis XV, in order to prevent England from obtaining them, ceded to Spain (November, 1762) the town and neighborhood of New Orleans and the broad possessions of France west of the Mississippi. The following year, by the Treaty of Paris, she lost to England all of her holdings east of the great river. Spain remained in possession of the trans-Mississippi country until 1800. Napoleon, just then dreaming of another New France in the western half of North America, as well as desiring to check the United States in its development westward, in that year (October 1st), coerced the Court of Madrid into a treaty of retrocession. Under this agreement Spain was to receive as recompense the improvised "Kingdom of Etruria," in northern Italy, to be governed by the Duke of Parma, son-in-law of the Spanish King; she was also to retain East and West Florida,

[1] From Thwaites' "Rocky Mountain Explorations." By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton & Company. Copyright, 1904.

which Napoleon had sought, but despite Spanish subserviency could not obtain.

That the great Corsican desired to establish a strong colonial empire to the west of the United States, controlling the Gulf of Mexico and the entire Mississippi Valley, there is now no doubt. Immediately after the retrocession of Louisiana, a large French expedition occupied the island of Santo Domingo, and another corps was destined for New Orleans; but the army in Santo Domingo was at once confronted by a native negro revolution, and the occupation of New Orleans, timed for October, 1802, was accordingly deferred.

These movements naturally alarmed President Jefferson, for New Orleans was the key to the continental interior. James Monroe was sent as a special envoy to Paris (March, 1803), to seek the purchase of New Orleans and the Floridas, with a view of securing to our western settlers the free navigation of the Mississippi. The denial of this privilege by Spain, and the threatened denial by France, had been the cause of long-continued dissatisfaction among the trans-Alleghany borderers, who at that time cared more for an opening for their surplus products than they did for the Federal union—to them as yet a shadowy thing, controlled by men of the Atlantic slope, unknowing and indifferent, they thought, to the needs of the West.

Jefferson was strongly impressed by the demands of the frontiersmen; but as a man of peace apparently would have been willing, if unable to secure any French territory at the mouth of the river to accept a free navigation agreement from France, rather than have an armed contest with

that power. He appears to have thought that eventually an alliance with England might win still further concession from Paris. It is not evident that at this time his interest in the country west of the river went further than a desire to discover within it a path to the Pacific.

Affairs were in this unsatisfactory condition, promising ill for the future of the young nation, when the French minister, Talleyrand, greatly surprized the American minister at Paris, Robert R. Livingston, by proposing (April 11th) that the United States buy all of Louisiana. The reason for this sudden change of heart was, that Napoleon had determined on a new war with England. This ambitious military enterprise required more money than he then possest; he feared that England's navy might, during the struggle, capture the approaches to Louisiana; by previously disposing of the territory to the United States he would not only obtain funds, but would thwart his enemy, and assist in rearing a formidable rival to her in North America.

Monroe had just arrived at Paris, bearing instructions authorizing Livingston and himself to pay $2,000,000 for New Orleans and the Floridas. This new proposition came to them as unexpectedly as "a bolt from the blue." The only method communicating with Washington was by the ocean mails, which were then very slow. The First Consul insisted on haste, for he needed the money at once; war was soon to be declared between France and England, and in brief time the latter might seize the Gulf of Mexico, and thus win Louisiana for herself.

Our envoys were equal to the emergency.

Lacking opportunity to consult with the President, they realized that delay might mean defeat, and promptly entered upon negotiations. At the end of a week's discussion, during which his brothers Lucian and Joseph bitterly opposed the sequestration of this colonial possession, Napoleon[2] arbitrarily directed his finance minister, Marbois, to sign a treaty (April 30th), with the American representatives, by which Louisiana, with its ill-defined boundaries, was sold to the United States for $15,000,000. Thus was our territory doubled at a few strokes of the pen. When Livingston, the principal American negotiator, rose after signing, he shook hands with his colleagues and Marbois, saying: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our lives!"

It was the early days of July before the news of this remarkable diplomatic negotiation reached Washington. Needless to say, it awakened uncommon excitement at the national capital. Captain Meriwether Lewis was in town, obtaining from the President final instructions before starting upon his great exploring expedition to the Pacific, an enterprise which was now placed upon a far different footing from the original intention. When, upon the fifth of the month, he bade farewell to his friends at the White House, and left for the West, he left behind him a partizan squabble upon the issue of which hung the future of the United States as a world power.

In this dispute the Federalists bitterly opposed, while the Republicans favored, the pro-

[2] For Lucien Bonaparte's account of a stormy interview on the subject between himself and his two brothers, Napoleon and Joseph, see later pages in this volume.

posed purchase of foreign territory. Jefferson himself, on constitutional grounds, entertained strong scruples against the transaction. He was but slowly won to the theory that the treaty-making power was sufficient to warrant the purchase, without an amendment to the Consitution.

The treaty itself arrived in Washington the fourteenth of July, and was ratified by Congress on the nineteenth of October, following; but it was some time before New England became reconciled, prophetically fearing that the acquisition of so much new territory, which was eventually to be formed into voting States, would result in throwing the balance of political power into the West. There was even some talk in that section of secession, because of this threatened loss of prestige. In the end, however, all concerned became reconciled to the contemplation of a United States extending across the continent. Florida, Texas, and California later followed in natural sequence—not without qualms upon the part of many; but the great struggle had been fought out over the Louisiana Purchase, and the power of territorial expansion accepted as a constitutional doctrine.

II

HOW NAPOLEON SOLD THE TERRITORY IN SPITE OF HIS BROTHERS

BY LUCIEN BONAPARTE[1]

"Here you are at last!" exclaimed my brother, "I was afraid you were not coming. It is a fine time to go to the theater; I come to tell you a piece of news which will not make you feel like amusing yourself."

Continuing in the same tone, Joseph, replying to my question: "Do make haste and tell me what is up" said to me:

"No; you will not believe it, and yet it is true. I give you a thousand guesses; the general (we still called Napoleon in that way), the general wishes to alienate Louisiana."

"Bah! who will buy it from him?"

"The Americans."

I was thunderstruck for a moment.

[1] From Lucien Bonaparte's "Memoirs," published in Paris in 1882. This article was translated in 1899 by George M. Henning for use in Hart's "American History told by Contemporaries." Lucien Bonaparte's opposition to the sale of Louisiana to the United States was largely an outcome of the fact that he had been his brother's ambassador to Spain, where he negotiated the treaty of 1800 by which Spain gave Louisiana back to France. Spain had possest Louisiana ever since the treaty of peace by which the war in America between France and England was brought to a close in 1763. Copyright, Macmillan Co., 1901.

"The idea! if he could wish it, the Chambers would not consent to it."

"And therefore he expects to do without their consent. That is what he replied to me when I said to him, as you do now, that the Chambers would not consent to it."

"What, he really said that to you? That is a little too much! But no, it is impossible. It is a bit of brag at your expense, as the other day on the subject of Bernadotte."

"No, no," insisted Joseph, "he spoke very seriously, and, what is more, he added to me that this sale would furnish him the first funds for war." . . .

We talked together for a considerable time about the little *coup d'état* which seemed to us to exceed in arbitrariness everything that had been accomplished under the Convention and the Directory. . . .

It had become late. The plan of going to the theater was given up, and we separated, not without having agreed that I first should go the next morning to pay a visit to the first Consul.

It was decided that Joseph should follow me pretty closely, without our seeming to have come to a mutual understanding, that I was not to take the initiative in regard to the sale in question, but wait until the Consul himself should mention it to me. In case he should ask me whether Joseph had spoken to me about it, I was authorized to say that he had done so, and even that he seemed to me alarmed about it. Up to that point, everything that I should deem fitting to add or to object, according to what the Consul should say to me, was left to my judgment. . .

I went over, decided upon, and modified one after the other my most convincing reasons to make the Consul renounce if not his plan of alienating the colony, at least that of not consulting the Chambers about it, more and more persuaded as I was by reflection that the discussion would end in the way that I desired. . . .

I still believe firmly to-day that if the plan of the Consul had been submitted to the Chambers, it would have been rejected by a very large majority; for after all what worse thing could happen to us, in case of sacrifices necessary to obtain peace, if we were at war with the English, or with any other government, than to cede one of our finest colonies for eighteen millions?

It was on this way of considering the renunciation projected that I founded the greatest probability of the success of our opposition. These eighteen millions seemed to me besides, as I still think them to-day, after so many years, a miserable and pitiable compensation. . . .

The next morning I betook myself to the Tuileries, where I was immediately shown up to my brother, who had just got into his bath. I found him in excellent humor. He began by speaking to me of the first night at which he had been present, astonished and sorry that we had not gone to join him. . . .

It was almost time to leave the bath, and we had not discust Louisiana any more than we had the year forty. I was vexed at it, but the nearer the last moment of speaking of it approached, the more I put off doing so. The body-servant was already holding the sheet and prepared to wrap his master in: I was about to leave

the place, when Rustan scratched at the door like a cat.

"Let him come in," said the first Consul, "I will stay in the water a quarter of an hour longer."

It is known that he liked very much to stay there a long time, when there was no pressing business. I had time to make a sign to the newcomer that I had not yet spoken of anything, and I saw that he was himself embarrassed as to when and how he was to broach the subject, if our brother did not give him some pretext for it.

His irresolution and my suppositions did not last long, for all at once the Consul said to Joseph:

"Well, brother, so you have not spoken to Lucien?"

"About what?" said Joseph.

"About our plan in regard to Louisiana, you know?"

"About yours, my dear brother, you mean? You can not have forgotten that far from being mine"—

"Come, come, preacher—But I have no need of discussing that with you: you are so obstinate —With Lucien I speak more willingly of serious matters; for tho he sometimes takes it into his head to oppose me, he knows how to give in to my opinion, Lucien does, when I see fit to try to make him change his." . . .

Joseph was showing annoyance at our conversation, the tone of which was more friendly than anything else, when finally he said to the Consul, rather brusquely:

"Well, you still say nothing of your plan?"

"Oh! yes," said the Consul, "but it is late, and if Lucien will wait for me in my study with you, mister grumbler, I will join you soon: do me the favor to recall my body-servant, it is absolutely necessary for me to leave the bath. Know merely, Lucien, that I have decided to sell Louisiana to the Americans."

I thought I ought to show very moderate astonishment at this piece of news supposed to be unknown to me. Knowing very well that an opportunity would be given me to show more, I mean at his intention to dispose of it by his own will, without speaking of it to the Chambers, I contented myself with saying: "Ah! ah!" in that tone of curiosity which shows the desire to know the rest of what has been begun rather than it signifies approbation or even the contrary.

This apparent indifference made the first Consul say: "Well, Joseph, you see! Lucien does not make an outcry about that as you do. Yet he would almost have a right to do so, for his part; for after all Louisiana is his conquest." . .

"As for me, I assure you," replied Joseph, "that if Lucien says nothing, he thinks none the less."

"Truly? And why should he play the diplomat with me?"

Brought into prominence in a way that I did not expect, and as they say, at a standstill, I could not delay explaining myself, and, to tell the truth, I was not sorry for it. But, as the Consul did not ask my opinion upon the heart of the question, which was not the greater or less fitness of the sale, I contented myself with say-

ing . . . that it was true that on this subject I thought as Joseph. "I flatter myself," I added in a tone which I tried to make the least hostile possible, "I flatter myself that the Chambers will not give their consent to it."

"You flatter yourself?" (This was said in a significant tone and air of surprize.) "That is fine, in truth," murmured the Consul lower, at the same time that Joseph was exclaiming with an air of triumph:

"And I too flatter myself so, and that is what I told the first Consul."

"And what did I answer you?" said my brother pretty sharply looking at us successively, as if that the expression of our faces might not escape him.

"You answered me that you would do without the consent of the Chambers: is not that it?"

"Precisely: that is what I have taken the great liberty of saying to Mr. Joseph, and what I repeat here to citizen Lucien, begging him to tell me his opinion about it also, himself, apart from his paternal tenderness for his diplomatic conquest." . . .

The discussion perhaps would have stopt there to our great regret, and we were about to start for the door, to leave the Consul free to come out of his bath; he had already made a movement to do so and his body-servant was still holding his sheet spread out, ready to receive his master and to dry him by wrapping him in it, when this master, changing his mind all at once, said to us loud enough to make us turn round:

"And then, gentlemen, think what you please about it, but give this affair up as lost both of

you; you, Lucien, on account of the sale in itself, you, Joseph, because I shall get along without the consent of any one whomsoever, do you understand?''

I admit that in the presence of the body-servant I felt hurt at this profession of faith on so delicate a subject, and that there escaped from me a smile of astonishment at least, which, I have reason to believe, betrayed my thought, and perhaps even more than my thought of the moment, and in spite of the absolute silence which I maintained, was perhaps the distant or preparatory cause of the tempest which was brewing, not in a tea-pot, according to the proverb, but rather in the bathtub of him who was beginning to make all the sovereigns of Europe quake.

It was Joseph who furnished the final cause, to continue to speak like the disciples of Æsculapius, of the development of this tempest, because, in reply to this really very inconsiderate affirmation on the part of the chief magistrate of the Republic, followed by his ''do you understand,'' Joseph said to him approaching the bathtub again:

''And you will do well, my dear brother, not to expose your plan to parliamentary discussion, for I declare to you that I am the first one to place himself, if it is necessary, at the head of the opposition which can not fail to be made to you.''

I was preparing to support Joseph on the same side, if in a tone not so vehement, when the more than Olympian bursts of laughter of the first Consul checked all at once the word on my lips. Since this laugh was evidently forced, it

did not last long, and Joseph, become redder and redder from anger and almost stuttering, said:

"Laugh, laugh, laugh, then! None the less I will do what I say, and altho I do not like to mount the tribune, this time they shall see me there."

At these words, the Consul, lifting himself half way out of the bath-tub in which he had sunk down again, said to him in a tone which I will call energetically serious and solemn:

"You will have no need to stand forth as orator of the opposition, for I repeat to you that this discussion will not take place, for the reason that the plan which is not fortunate enough to obtain your approbation, conceived by me, negotiated by me, will be ratified and executed by me all alone, do you understand? By me who snap my fingers at your opposition."

After these words, the Consul sank down tranquilly in the waves whitened with Cologne-water of his bath-tub. But Joseph, in the tone of the greatest anger, with which his very handsome face seemed inflamed, replied to him immediately:

"Very well! I tell you, general, that you, I, all of us, if you do what you say, may get ready to go and rejoin in a short time the poor innocent devils whom you have so legally, so humanely, above all so justly caused to be transported to Sinnamary."[2]

The blow was struck hard. Useless and silent censurer of this scene between my two elder brothers, I wished and did not dare to leave it. I may say that I felt painfully the offense of

[2] In French Guiana.

these severe and only too just words for him to whom they were addrest. However, I did not have time to linger over it, for there followed an aquatic explosion from which I was luckily protected by my position somewhat distant from the bath-tub, an explosion which had been caused by the rising first and then the sudden sinking down again of the Consul in his bath-tub, the whole accompanied by these words addrest only to Joseph:

"You are an insolent fellow! I ought—"

I did not hear the rest, and I believe that nothing followed this beginning of a sentence. I observed only then that following the difference existing between the two characters, exasperated, as it seemed to me, to the same pitch, the paleness of the Consul contrasted singularly with the redness of Joseph; and finding myself by my sort of silent neutrality in the midst of sharp or offensive remarks, which had been exchanged, as it were raised to he height of the rôle of peace-maker, and yet not wishing to pose as one, I tried to attain this end, by seeming to take what was going on as a sort of joke, and I quoted rather gaily, with a bombastic accent, the famous "Quos ego . . ." of Vergil; for in fact the image of Neptune rebuking the waves let loose in spite of him had seemed to my mind just a little ludicrous, and the "I ought" of the Neptune of the bath-tub alone reaching my ear completed for me in action at least in parody the literary translation of the celebrated reticence, the first subject of admiration for young Latinists. It is of course understood that it was only to the unsuccessful rebellion of the winds that I was sup-

posed to compare that of my brother Joseph, while I decreed the honor of the irritated divinity to the proper person, that which each one besides understood perfectly well.

The scene had changed its aspect, or rather it had, so to speak, collapsed. Joseph, splashed to the extent of the immersion of his clothes and his face, had received all over him the most copious injection. But apparently, the nature of this perfumed flood had calmed his anger, which, in him, was never more than superficial and short-lived, for he contented himself with letting himself be sponged and dried off by the body-servant, who, to my great regret, had remained a witness of this serious folly between such actors.

HAMILTON'S DEATH IN THE DUEL WITH BURR

(1804)

BY JAMES SCHOULER[1]

Thrust out of influence, bankrupt in purse and prospects, politically discarded by the State and national Republican party, his Federal coalition a failure, Burr now sought a desperate revenge. Of all men none had so marred his fortune as Hamilton, his rival at the bar, and constant enemy. Of Hamilton's exposures in 1801 he knew something. On this State campaign Hamilton had resolutely held back his fellow-Federalists by a similar course, while avoiding the canvass as much as possible. Unable to make specific charges, Burr demanded imperiously of Hamilton a broad disavowal of all offensive expressions concerning him, or else the satisfaction usual among gentlemen.

Finding Burr inflexible, Hamilton chose the latter alternative; reason and conscience protesting against an encounter to which his romantic sense of honor impelled him and which he hoped to justify by sparing in any event the life of the man who sought his blood. He was not without presentiment that he would be a victim;

[1] From Schouler's "History of the United States." By permission of Mr. Schouler, owner of the copyright, and of his publishers, Dodd, Mead & Co. Copyright 1880, 1891.

and Burr, who felt no compunction, practised carefully at a mark to make sure of it. The duel, postponed to an opportunity mutually convenient, took place in the gray of a July morning, on the Jersey shore. The parties were prompt with their seconds and attendants. On the signal Burr raised his arm, took aim with coolness and precision, and shot Hamilton in the right side. Hamilton's pistol went off in the air as if involuntarily, and he fell upon his face mortally wounded. On the same ground, and nearly on the same spot, fell Hamilton's eldest son, in a miserable political duel, three years before. Burr fled; his fainting victim was conveyed across the river by boat once more; and in the house of his second, after suffering great agony of mind and body, he expired the next day.

Thus, unhappily, was flung away one of the most vivacious spirits ever yet vouchsafed to this New World. Hamilton's soaring greatness, his energy, his fertility in resources, and the faults of his remarkable character we have sought to depict. As his views on political subjects were exprest plainly in writing on every emergency, exploring from top to bottom, so to speak, and his writings have been published, only they need misunderstand Hamilton at this day, who rely upon the exaggerated phrase of contemporaries, of those on the one hand who felt that the Union could not endure with him, and of those on the other who were assured that it could not last without him.

No estimate, however, of Hamilton can be complete which fails to take into account the precocity of his intellect and the almost juvenile

stage of that career which was so illustrious under all discouragements. This prodigy of executive ability; this Cæsar of a commonplace world, which yielded, unfortunately for the scope of his powers, more to laws than to individuals; this financier, whose feats with the public credit had astonished two continents; this imperial soul, which had dwelt in near companionship to Washington; this statesman, who at thirty-five despised the subtle Jefferson, a man nearly fifty, who sought to bend that venerable oak, John Adams, who never doubted his own position among the wealthiest, the oldest in family influence, in a country upon which he had been cast, a waif; this wonderful American reached the zenith of his public influence when about thirty, and died at forty-seven.

What might he not have accomplished, it may be asked, had he lived to devote his riper years to his fellow-countrymen? Not, we apprehend, a new and more brilliant public career. For the more that political power passed to the American mass, the more surely he was cut off from participating in it. Hamilton was fitted to rule a decaying, not to lead a rising republic. He was boldest in time of public danger, and only despaired when all was peace and safety, so that personal prowess was impossible. As Gouverneur Morris, his sympathetic friend and eulogist, felt compelled to admit, Hamilton was covetous of glory more than of wealth or power, and while conscious that a monarchy in America was unattainable, so constantly and indiscreetly avowed his attachment to it, that he cut himself off from all chance of rising into office. And it is certain

that to Washington's personal friendship and protection he owed almost solely his political opportunities, the strongest partizans not daring to expose him to the test of the ballot. . . .

But an assassin's bullet stopt all opportunities for good or ill. Hamilton perished untimely; a disbeliever in national dismemberment, but to the last a dreamer, a fatalist, lamenting a political system which seemed poisoned with democracy, and recognizing it as his paramount duty to maintain the code of honor in view of emergencies which might later arise. A grand impulse to our national system, with consolidation as the corrective of a confederacy; liberal national powers; protection, force, and energy in the central government; financial stability—these were Hamilton's great legacy to the American Union.

Hamilton was idolized by his personal friends, his very frailties moving those to compassion who acknowledged his superior intellect; while Burr was regarded as a cold and heartless libertine. The duel and its fatal issue startled the public, so stealthy had been all the preparations. To Hamilton's followers it seemed a martyrdom; nor could Jefferson and his party resist the idea that the victim had fallen in their cause. Grief and indignation mingled in the funeral rites paid to his remains. His widow and young children left with an embarrassed property were relieved by a public subscription. Burr was pursued as a wilful murderer; indictments were found against him in New York and New Jersey; and such was the public feeling that he had to take temporary refuge in Georgia.

THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

(1804—1805)

AN OUTLINE SKETCH BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES[1]

At four in the afternoon of the fourteenth of May, 1804, "all in health and readiness to set out," the expedition left camp at River Dubois, "in the presence of many of the neighboring inhabitants, and proceeded on under a jentle brease up the Missourie." Clark was in charge of the embarkation, for Lewis was attending to the last business details in St. Louis. The flotilla consisted of three craft—a keel boat fifty-five feet long, drawing three feet of water, carrying a sail, propelled by twenty-two oars, with both forecastle and cabin, and the center guarded by a breastwork, for attacks from Indians were feared, especially on the lower reaches of the Missouri; a pirogue or open boat with seven oars, and another with six, both of them carrying sails. The party comprized, in addition to Clark, three sergeants (Ordway, Pryor, and Floyd), twenty-three privates, two interpreters (Drouillard and Charbonneau), Charbonneau's Indian squaw Sacajawea, and the negro York.

[1] From Thwaites' "Rocky Mountain Explorations." By permission of the publishers, D. Appleton & Company. Copyright 1904. Clark was a brother of George Rogers Clark. He and Lewis were both Virginians.

Lewis had not expected Clark to leave until the fifteenth, but the latter's plans were perfected a day ahead of time, and he was anxious to be off. Arriving the following noon at St. Charles, then a French hamlet of some four hundred and fifty inhabitants—"pore, polite, and harmonious," his journal aptly describes them—he lay there until the twentieth, when his friend joined him, the latter having been accompanied twenty-four miles overland from St. Louis by several citizens of that place, and a small knot of United States military officers, who had but recently taken part in the territorial transfer from France. At their head was Captain Stoddard, serving as military governor of Upper Louisiana, pending its reorganization by Congress.

The people of St. Charles hospitably entertained the visitors, and on the following day the expedition set out "under three Cheers from the gentlemen on the bank." During the succeeding two or three days many settlers flocked to the shores to watch the little fleet toiling up the great muddy stream, and good-naturedly to wish the company joy in their undertaking. On the twenty-fifth of May the explorers passed La Charette, the last white settlement on the river—the home of Daniel Boone, still a vigorous hunter at a ripe, old age. Upon the sixth of June buffalo signs were seen; on the eleventh they first shot bears. . . .

Rapids were now frequently met with, necessitating the use in the swift water of towing-lines and kedge-anchors, a work much impeded by heavy growths, along the banks, of bushes and

gigantic weeds. "Ticks and musquiters," and great swarms of "knats," begin to be "verry troublesome," necessitating smudge fires and mosquito-bars. The men frequently suffer from snake-bites, sunstroke, and stomach complaints. Both Lewis and Clark now play the part of physicians, and administer simple, tho sometimes drastic, remedies for these disorders; the journals make frequent mention of strange doses and vigorous bleeding. Sometimes storms drench them in their rude camp; or, suddenly bursting upon their craft in open river, necessitate great ado with anchors and cables until the flurry is over.

Two days later (August 20th) occurred the first and only death. Sergeant Charles Floyd, a man of firmness and resolution, being "taken verry bad all at once with a Biliouse Chorlick. . . . Died with a great deal of composure." This event took place a short distance below the present Sioux City, about 850 miles above the mouth of the Missouri. . . .

The explorers were now in a paradise of game. Great herds of buffaloes, sometimes 5,000 strong, were grazing in the plains, the fattest of them falling easy victims to the excellent aims of the hunters. Elk, deer, antelopes, turkeys, and squirrels were abundant, and gave variety to their meals, for which the navigators generally tied up at the bank and joined the land party around the huge campfires. Prairie dogs, whose little burrows punctured the plains in every direction, interested the explorers. One day there was a general attempt to drown out one of these nimble miners; but, altho all joined for some time in freely pouring water down the hole, the task was

finally abandoned as impracticable. Prairie wolves nightly howled about their camps in surprizing numbers and in several varieties.

Worn by the fatigue of a day's hard work at the oars or the towing-line or pushing-pole, or perhaps by long hours of tramping or hunting upon the rolling plains, which were frequently furrowed by deep ravines, each member of the party earned his night's rest. But as they lay under the stars, around the generous fires of driftwood, great clouds of mosquitoes not infrequently robbed them of sleep. The two great leaders were possest of mosquito-bars, which generally enabled them to rest with comparative comfort, altho sometimes even these were ineffectual; but apparently none of the others enjoyed these luxuries, and buried their heads within their blankets, almost to the point of suffocation. Once they had camped upon a sand-bar, in midriver. By the light of the moon the guard saw the banks caving in above and below. Alarming the sleepers, they had barely time to launch and board their boats before the very spot where they had lain slipt into the turbid current. In the upper reaches of the river, the following year, grizzly bears and stampeded buffalo herds were added to the list of night terrors. . . .

The principal Mandan village was on a bluff overlooking the Missouri, above the present Bismarck, N. D. Three miles below, "on the north side of the river, in an extensive and well-timbered bottom," the expedition settled itself for the winter within huts of cottonwood logs, surrounded by a stout palisade of the same timber, the establishment being named, "in honor of our

friendly neighbors," Fort Mandan. In reaching this point, 1,600 miles above the mouth of the Missouri, they had occupied, including delays of every sort, 173 days, thus making an average progress of a trifle over nine miles a day.

During the five months spent at Fort Mandan the leaders were never free from care, for their position was one involving danger and the necessity for exercising both tact and firmness. At first the Mandans, while nominally friendly, quite naturally suspected the motives of these newcomers. With the French trappers and traders who either dwelt or frequently sojourned among them in behalf of the British fur companies, they were on intimate terms; and the Scotch, Irish, and English agents of these organizations were received upon their periodical visits with much consideration. The aims of these white men from the north were similar to their own—the preservation of the wilderness as a great hunting-ground, the only exploitation permissible being that which contributed to the market for pelts.

The chiefs were plainly told that the United States now owned the country, that loyalty to the Great Father at Washington was henceforth obligatory, and that they must no longer receive medals and flags from the British. At the same time, they were informed that the exploration had no other object than to acquaint the Great Father with his new children, and that upon its return arrangements would be made for sending traders into the country, with better goods and fairer treatment than had hitherto been obtained from the Canadian companies. Long before the close of the winter Lewis and Clark had gained a

fair degree of popularity among these simple people, and the British agents were correspondingly discomfited. . . .

A week out from Fort Mandan (April 14th) the expedition reached the mouth of what the leaders named Charbonneau Creek. This was the highest point on the Missouri, to which whites had thus far ascended, except that two Frenchmen, having lost their way, had proceeded a few miles farther up. All beyond was unknown to civilized men. On the twenty-sixth the mouth of the Yellowstone was reached. Here, Lewis in his journal recommends that a trading-post be established—eight hundred yards above the junction, on a high, well-timbered plain, overlooking a lake-like widening of the Missouri.

In these upper regions, where signs of coal were frequently seen, and in places alkali whitened the ground like snow, "game is very abundant and gentle"; two hunters could, Lewis thinks, conveniently supply a regiment with provisions." Big-horns, monster elk, black and grizzly bears, antelopes, and great herds of buffaloes are daily met; they feast of beavers, Lewis thinking "the tale a most delicious morsel," and wondering greatly at the industry of these animals, which in some spots fell for their numerous dams many acres of timber as thick as a man's body; wolves increase, and the nimble coyotes begin to interest them.

The huge and savage grizzly was, in some respects, the most formidable obstacle encountered by the intrepid explorers; compared with these bulky, ferocious beasts, Indians occasioned small alarm. By the time the party were a month out

from the Mandans, Lewis could write: "I find that the curiosity of our party is pretty well satisfyed with rispect to this anamel. . . (he) has staggered the resolution (of) several of them." A few days later came a disagreeable experience with a grizzly, in which he and seven of his men, as yet unable to locate the vulnerable parts, found it impossible to kill the creature save after a persistent fusillade from their short-range rifles. "These bear," he says, "being so hard to die reather intimeadates us all; I must confess that I do not like the gentlemen and had reather fight two Indians than one bear." . .

Once, at the dead of night, a large buffalo bull invaded their camp. Apparently attracted by the light, he swam the river, and climbing over their best pirogue—but fortunately not seriously injuring it—he charged the fires at full speed, passing within a few inches of the heads of the sleeping men, and made for Lewis and Clark's tent. Lewis's dog, his constant companion throughout the expedition, caused the burly beast to change his course, and he was off in a flash; all this, before the sentinel could arouse the camp, which was now in uproar, the men rushing out with guns in hand, inquiring for the cause of the disturbance. . . .

The third of June they came to where the river "split in two," and were greatly puzzled to know which way to go. To take the wrong branch, that did not lead toward the Columbia, would lose them the whole of the season, and probably so dishearten the party that the expedition might have to be abandoned. The utmost circumspection was necessary in order to arrive at the right

decision. Both streams were carefully investigated by advance parties, being measured as to width, depth, and character, and velocity of current. The men thought the north or right-hand fork the larger of the two, and therefore the main Missouri; but Lewis and Clark were satisfied that the other was the true channel, and by common consent this was chosen. On this, as on many other occasions, the joint judgment of the captains proved to be superior to that of their assistants. . . .

On the fourth of August, Lewis came to where the Jefferson forks into three streams. At first puzzled to know which to take, he decided to follow the middle one, and left the usual note to Clark on a pole at the junction. But when Clark arrived with his boats there was no pole, for being green, the beavers had carried it off; whereupon he ascended the northwest fork, not being able to judge so well as Lewis, who had the advantage of hill-top views. But the difficulties of passage up this rapid stream were so great, that after a day's rough travel Clark returned to the forks, there finding Lewis awaiting him. Naming the northwest fork Wisdom, and the southwest Philanthropy—virtues which they ascribed to President Jefferson—they regarded the middle stream as the Jefferson, and continued its ascent. Lewis kept on his way afoot, while Clark —suffering from "the rageing fury of a tumer on my anckle musle"—followed with the craft.

The river now passed for much of the way under perpendicular cliffs of rocks, infested by rattlesnakes. The mountains were not high, yet covered with snow, showing that the altitude

was great, altho the ascent had been scarcely perceptible. "I do not believe," writes Lewis, "that the world can furnish an (other) example of a river runing to the extent which the Missouri and Jefferson rivers do through such mountainous country, and at the same time so navigable as they are." . . .

The following day (August 12th), Lewis reached the source of the Missouri—a spring of ice-cold water "issuing from the base of a low mountain or hill." Two miles below this, "McNeal had exultingly stood with a foot on each side of this little rivulet, and thanked his God that he had lived to bestride the mighty & heretofore deemed endless Missouri." A little later in the day, the captain crossed the divide and reached "a handsome, bold, running Creek of cold, Clear water, where I first tasted the water of the great Columbia river"; this was the Lemhi, an upper tributary of the Columbia. . .

They thereupon struck off to the northward, seeking "the great river which lay in the plains beyond the mountains." The route taken was over the heavily timbered Bitterroot Mountains, which are slashed by deep gorges, down which rush torrential streams. This formidable region, "a perfect maze of bewildering ridges," was then and still is traversed by the Lolo or Northern Nez Perce trail, followed from time immemorial by Indians traveling between the upper waters of the Missouri and those of the Columbia.

Having left the region of game, the party were soon prest for provisions, and were obliged to kill several of their horses for food. Blinding snowstorms in mid-September greatly impeded

progress; the sides of the mountains were steep and rocky, with insecure foothold, especially during the frequent showers of sleet; the nights were cold, raw, and often wet; great areas strewn with fallen timber sometimes appeared almost impassable barriers; and not infrequently the rude path was dangerously near the edges of steep precipices, from which men or horses were in constant fear of being dashed to pieces. Thus they toiled on, through the dense and gloomy forests of pine, sometimes scaling steep ridges, at others descending rocky slopes at the peril of their lives, or threading the thick timber of marshy bottoms. Some of their horses fell through exhaustion, to be at once used as food; and the men themselves were so disheartened that Clark found it necessary to forge ahead with a party of hunters to find level country and game, by way of "reviving ther sperits." . . .

After safely braving the formidable Short Narrows of the Columbia—"swelling, boiling & whorling in every direction"—they passed camps of savages who were more familiar with white men, many of them being clad in civilized clothing obtained from the coast traders; if possible, these were even more tricky than their fellows above, and like them, dwelt in mortal fear of the Snakes and Shoshoni whom Lewis and Clark had met upon the sources of the river.

On the first of November they reached Pacific tide-water, and soon were ami drich bottomlands and abundant elk, deer, and other game, among which were sea-otters; and dense fogs frequently veiled the pleasing landscape. On the fourth, the natives at one village came in state to

see them, tricked out in scarlet and blue blankets, sailor jackets, overalls, shirts, and hats, in addition to their usual costume—assuming, disagreeable, thievish fellows, freely laying their hands on small things about the camp, but treated by the diplomatic explorers "with every attention and friendship." Three days later (the 7th), breakers could be heard during a storm, and Clark exultingly writes: "Great joy in camp—we are in view of the Ocian." The river was here from five to seven miles wide, with bold, rocky shores, and "The Seas roled and tossed the Canoes in such a manner this evening that Several of our party were Sea sick."

Finally, after being weather-bound for six days, in "a dismal niche scarcely largely to contain us, our baggage half a mile from us," and canoes weighted down with stones to prevent their dashing against the rocks, the wind lulled, they proceeded (November 15th) around a blustery point, and there found a "butifull Sand beech thro which runs a Small river from the hills."

The continent had at last been spanned by American explorers.

THE WAR WITH TRIPOLI

(1801—1805)

DECATUR'S CAPTURE AND BURNING OF THE "PHILADELPHIA"

BY FENIMORE COOPER[1]

At half-past eleven, Tripoli then being in plain sight, distant a little more than a league, satisfied that he could neither overtake the chase, nor force her ashore, Captain Bainbridge, of the *Philadelphia*, ordered the helm a-port, to haul directly off the land into deep water. The next cast of the lead, when this order was executed, gave but eight fathoms, and this was immediately followed by casts that gave seven, and six and a half. At this moment, the wind was nearly abeam, and the ship had eight knots way on her. When the cry of "half-six" was heard, the helm was put hard down, and the yards were ordered to be braced sharp up. While the ship was coming up fast to the wind, and before she had lost any of her way, she struck a reef forward, and shot up on it, until she lifted between five and six feet.

[1] From Cooper's "Naval History." The Tripolitan War was the last struggle by Europeans or Americans with the notorious corsairs or pirates of North Africa, who had made war on commerce in the Mediterranean for several centuries. Their depredations had become particularly atrocious in the late years of the Eighteenth Century, merchant ships being subjected to capture unless tribute was paid.

This was an appalling accident to occur on the coast of such an enemy, at that season of the year, and with no other cruiser near! It was first attempted to force the vessel ahead, under the impression that the best water was to seaward; but on sounding around the ship, it was found that she had run up with such force, as to lie nearly cradled on the rocks; there being only 14 feet of water under the fore-chains, while the ship drew, before striking, 18½ feet forward. Astern there were not 18 feet of water, instead of 20½, which the frigate needed. . .

The ship had no sooner struck than the gunboats ran down alongside of her, and took possession. The barbarians rushed into the vessel, and began to plunder their captives. Not only were the clothes which the Americans had collected in their bags and bundles, taken from them, but many officers and men were stript half-naked. They were hurried into boats, and sent to Tripoli, and even on the passage the business of plundering went on. The officers were respected little more than the common men, and, while in the boat, Captain Bainbridge himself

It was common in those days for governments to pay tribute, but when an increase in such payments was demanded about the end of the century, the United States refused to pay. Tripoli in consequence, in 1801, declared war against us. The whole country was aroused over this declaration, the common battle-cry being "Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute." Actual war did not begin, however, until two years after the declaration had been made. The American frigate *Philadelphia,* while chasing corsairs into the harbor of Tripoli, in that year, struck on a sunken rock and, being unable to use her guns, was captured by the enemy. Decatur's exploit here described relates to what followed this accident.

was robbed of his epaulets, gloves, watch, and money. His cravat was even torn from his neck. He wore a miniature of his wife, and of this the Tripolitans endeavored to deprive him also, but, a youthful and attached husband, he resisted so seriously that the attempt was relinquished. . .

Means had been found to communicate with Captain Bainbridge; and several letters were received from that officer, pointing out different methods of annoying the enemy. In a letter of the date of the 5th of December, 1803, Captain Bainbridge suggested the possibility of destroying the *Philadelphia,* which ship was slowly fitting for sea, there being little doubt of her being sent out as a cruiser, as soon as the mild season should return. Commodore Preble listened to the suggestion, and being much in the society of the commander of the vessel that was most in company with the *Constitution,* Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, he mentioned the project to that spirited officer. The expedition was just suited to the ardor and temperament of Mr. Decatur, and the possession of the prize at once afforded the means of carrying it into effect. . . .

It is scarcely necessary to say that the accommodations were none of the best, with so many persons cooped up in a vessel of between forty and fifty tons; and to make the matter worse, it was soon found that the salted meat put on board was spoiled, and that there was little besides bread and water left to subsist on. The weather, however, was pleasant, and the wind favorable, and the two vessels got in sight of Tripoli on the afternoon of the 9th. To prevent suspicions, the *Intrepid* now went ahead of the *Siren.*

The orders of Lieutenant-Commandant Decatur were clear and simple. The spar-deck was first to be carried, then the gun-deck; after which a distribution of the party was made, in order to set fire to the ship. . . .

As the ketch drew in with the land, the ship became visible. She lay not quite a mile within the entrance, riding to the wind, and abreast of the town. Her foremast, which had been cut away while she was on the reef, had not yet been replaced, her main and mizzentopmasts were housed, and her lower yards were on the gunwales. Her lower standing rigging, however, was in its place, and, as was shortly afterward ascertained, her guns were loaded and shotted. Just within her lay two corsairs, with a few gunboats, and a galley or two. . . .

About 10 o'clock the *Intrepid* reached the eastern entrance of the bay, or the passage between the rocks and the shoal. The wind was nearly east, and, as she steered directly for the frigate, it was well abaft the beam. There was a young moon, and as these bold adventurers were slowly advancing into the hostile port, all around them was tranquil and apparently without distrust. For near an hour they were stealing slowly along, the air gradually failing, until their motion became scarcely perceptible.

Most of the officers and men of the ketch had been ordered to lie on the deck, where they were concealed by low bulwarks, or weather-boards, and by the different objects that belong to a vessel. As it is the practise of those seas to carry many men even in the smallest craft, the appearance of ten or twelve would excite no alarm, and

this number was visible. The commanding officer, himself, stood near the pilot, Mr. Catalano, who was to act as interpreter. The quartermaster at the helm, was ordered to stand directly for the frigate's bows, it being the intention to lay the ship aboard in that place, as the mode of attack which would least expose the assailants to her fire.

The *Intrepid* was still at a considerable distance from the *Philadelphia,* when the latter hailed. The pilot answered that the ketch belonged to Malta, and was on a trading voyage; that she had been nearly wrecked, and had lost her anchors in the late gale, and that her commander wished to ride by the frigate during the night. This conversation lasted some time, Mr. Decatur instructing the pilot to tell the frigate's people with what he was laden, in order to amuse them, and the *Intrepid* gradually drew nearer, until there was every prospect of her running foul of the *Philadelphia,* in a minute or two, and at the very spot contemplated. But the wind suddenly shifted, and took the ketch aback. The instant the southerly puff struck her, her head fell off, and she got a stern-board; the ship, at the same moment, tending to the new current of air. The effect of this unexpected change was to bring the ketch directly under the frigate's broadside, at the distance of about forty yards, where she lay perfectly becalmed, or, if anything, drifting slowly astern, exposed to nearly every one of the *Philadelphia's* larboard guns.

Not the smallest suspicion appears to have been yet excited on board the frigate, tho several of her people were looking over the rails, and

notwithstanding the moonlight. So completely were the Turks deceived, that they lowered a boat, and sent it with a fast. Some of the ketch's men, in the mean time, had got into her boat, and had run a line to the frigate's fore-chains. As they returned, they met the frigate's boat, took the fast it brought, which came from the after part of the ship, and passed it into their own vessel. These fasts were put into the hands of the men, as they lay on the ketch's deck, and they began cautiously to breast the *Intrepid* alongside of the *Philadelphia,* without rising. As soon as the latter got near enough to the ship, the Turks discovered her anchors, and they sternly ordered the ketch to keep off, as she had deceived them; preparing, at the same time, to cut the fasts. All this passed in a moment, when the cry of "Amerikanos" was heard in the ship. The people of the *Intrepid,* by a strong pull, brought their vessel alongside of the frigate, where she was secured, quick as thought. Up to this moment, not a whisper had betrayed the presence of the men concealed. The instructions had been positive to keep quiet until commanded to show themselves; and no precipitation, even in that trying moment, deranged the plan.

Lieutenant-Commandant Decatur was standing ready for a spring, with Messrs. Laws and Morris quite near him. As soon as close enough, he jumped at the frigate's chain-plates, and while clinging to the ship himself, he gave the order to board. The two midshipmen were at his side, and all the officers and men of the *Intrepid* arose and followed. The three gentlemen named were in the chains together, and Lieutenant-Command-

ant Decatur and Mr. Morris sprang at the rail above them, while Mr. Laws dashed at a port. To the latter would have belonged the honor of having been first in this gallant assault, but wearing a boarding-belt, his pistols were caught between the gun and the side of the port. Mr. Decatur's foot slipped in springing, and Mr. Charles Morris first stood upon the quarter-deck of the *Philadelphia*. In an instant, Lieutenant-Commandant Decatur and Mr. Laws were at his side, while heads and bodies appeared coming over the rail and through the ports in all directions.

The surprize appears to have been as perfect as the assault was rapid and earnest. Most of the Turks on deck crowded forward, and all ran over to the starboard side, as their enemies poured in on the larboard. A few were aft, but as soon as charged they leapt into the sea. Indeed, the constant plunges into the water gave the assailants the assurance that their enemies were fast lessening in numbers by flight. It took but a minute or two to clear the spar-deck, tho there was more of a struggle below. Still, so admirably managed was the attack, and so complete the surprize, that the resistance was trifling. In less than ten minutes Mr. Decatur was on the quarter-deck again, in undisturbed possession of his prize.

There can be no doubt that this gallant officer now felt bitter regrets that it was not in his power to bring away the ship he had so nobly recovered. Not only were his orders on this point peremptory, however, but the frigate had not a sail bent, nor a yard crossed, and she wanted her

foremast. It was next to impossible, therefore, to remove her, and the command was given to pass up the combustibles from the ketch.

The duty of setting fire to the prize appears to have been executed with as much promptitude and order, as every other part of the service. The officers distributed themselves, agreeably to the previous instructions, and the men soon appeared with the necessary means. Each party acted by itself, and, as it got ready. So rapid were they all in their movements, that the men with combustibles had scarcely time to get as low as the cock-pit and after storerooms, before the fires were lighted over their heads. When the officer entrusted with the duty last mentioned had got through, he found the after-hatches filled with smoke, from the fire in the ward-room and steerage, and he was obliged to make his escape by the forward ladders.

The Americans were in the ship from twenty to twenty-five minutes, and they were literally driven out of her by the flames. The vessel had got to be so dry in that low latitude that she burned like pine; and the combustibles had been as judiciously prepared, as they were steadily used. The last party up were the people who had been in the store-rooms, and when they reached the deck they found most of their companions already in the *Intrepid*. Joining them, and ascertaining that all was ready, the order was given to cast off. Notwithstanding the daring character of the enterprise in general, Mr. Decatur and his party now ran the greatest risk they had incurred that night. So fierce had the conflagration already become, that the flames be-

gan to pour out of the ports, and the head-fast having been cast off, the ketch fell astern, with her jigger flapping against the quarter-gallery, and her boom foul. The fire showed itself in the window at this critical moment; and beneath was all the ammunition of the party, covered with a tarpaulin. To increase the risk, the stern-fast was jammed. By using swords, however, for there was not time to look for an ax, the hawser was cut, and the *Intrepid* was extricated from the most imminent danger by a vigorous shove. As she swung clear of the frigate, the flames reached the rigging, up which they went hissing, like a rocket, the tar having oozed from the ropes, which had been saturated with that inflammable matter. Matches could not have kindled with greater quickness.

The sweeps were now manned. Up to this moment, everything had been done earnestly, tho without noise, but as soon as they felt that they had got command of their ketch again, and by two or three vigorous strokes had sent her away from the frigate, the people of the *Intrepid* ceased rowing, and as one man they gave three cheers for victory. This appeared to arouse the Turks from their stupor; for the cry had hardly ended when the batteries, the two corsairs, and the galley poured in their fire. The men laid hold of the sweeps again, of which the *Intrepid* had eight of a side, and favored by a light air, they went rapidly down the harbor.

The spectacle that followed is described as having been both beautiful and sublime. The entire bay was illuminated by the conflagration, the roar of cannon was constant, and Tripoli

was in a clamor. The appearance of the ship was, in the highest degree, magnificent; and to add to the effect, as her guns heated, they began to go off. Owing to the shift of wind, and the position into which she had tended, she, in some measure, returned the enemy's fire, as one of her broadsides was discharged in the direction of the town, and the other toward Fort English. The most singular effect of this conflagration was on board the ship, where the flames having run up the rigging and masts, collected under the tops, and fell over, giving the whole the appearance of glowing columns and fiery capitals. . . .

The success of this gallant exploit laid the foundation of the name which Mr. Decatur subsequently acquired in the navy. The country generally applauded the feat; and the commanding officer was raised from the station of a lieutenant to that of a captain. Most of the midshipmen engaged were also promoted, and Lieutenant-Commandant Decatur received a sword.

In the service the enterprise has ever been regarded as one of its most brilliant achievements; and to this day it is deemed a high honor to have been one among the *Intrepid's* crew. The effect on the squadron then abroad can scarcely be appreciated; as its seamen began to consider themselves invincible, if not invulnerable, and were ready for any service in which men could be employed.

THE CONSPIRACY OF AARON BURR

(1806)

BY JAMES SCHOULER[1]

The conspiracy of Burr now flamed suddenly in the sky like some comet, wholly unexpected, whose coming seems the presage of destruction. But when seen it had ceased to be dangerous. The bearing of this enterprise upon our internal politics was very slight, except to strengthen public confidence in the energy of the Executive, and cement to the Union, as was needful, the loyalty of the immense Mississippi country. For the rest we may regard it as a phenomenal exhibition of hazy native imperialism, quite unfit for modern America. . . .

The panorama of the great west is at length fairly unrolled, and in the adventurous, self-confident sons of the valley, heedless of international restraints, but in heart true to the republic, despising diplomacy, and ready to take the short cut, we perceive a fresh and distinctive type of the American citizen. Over this section Burr's spell was momentary, and his magic failed when the sinister bend of his plans was discovered.

The late Vice-President, bankrupt in fortune and political standing, is seen knitting together the

[1] From Schouler's "History of the United States." By permission of Mr. Schouler, owner of the copyright, and of his publishers, Dodd, Mead & Co. Copyright 1880, 1891.

broken threads of his ambition, and weaving out a strange fabric. His restless fancy made him a Napoleon in Mexico, and founder of an American dynasty; conjoined with which design was that of plundering New Orleans for the immediate necessities of his enterprise, but ultimately occupying it, and by force and adroit policy detaching the Western States from the Union. His contempt of mankind gave him a low estimate of popular government and of those representing it; with a handful of troops at Washington he believed himself able to turn Congress out of doors, assassinate the President, and declare himself Protector; and his own brain and nerve he relied upon with sanguine confidence. He drew Dayton and other kinsfolk into his scheme, besides some young New York partizans stranded in politics like himself. He thought himself assured, too, of prominent support at the West; from Daniel Clark, for instance, a leading spirit in New Orleans, and a man of large fortune, and above all, from General Wilkinson, Burr's former military comrade, whose familiar acquaintance with Louisiana and the Spanish dominions and his military rank made him the most influential personage at the southwest. That all of these encouraged Burr's expedition is certain; but how far some of them did so, understanding it to be a purely foreign diversion which would be undertaken against Spain, and possibly under the secret auspices of our government, can never be determined. . . .

Wilkinson turned against Burr at the critical moment, and by his energetic preparation at New Orleans crusht the enterprise in which he had been promised the second place of command. Per-

haps, on deciphering the mysterious letters of Burr and Dayton addrest to him, which furnish the clearest evidence of the conspiracy, a vainglorious but valiant officer, high in the confidence of his government, realized for the ffrst time that a predatory excursion involved treason, and on his own part the basest treachery. Perhaps he realized the change of external circumstances better than Burr, and saw that the latter either lied or was over-sanguine. Perhaps, after feeding his own imagination with hopes of glory and fortune, he shrunk, as others have, when it came to action. To a high commander, who weighed well his chances, Jefferson's confidence and public gratitude must have appeared at this moment the safer investment. Wilkinson had no tenderness of conscience; he was self-indulgent, fond of display, boastful, one who performed a good action upon considerations of strategy. The ambition of leading a revolution as "the Washington of the West" might have tempted him had he been displaced from authority like Burr; but in the plenitude of influence duty and interest alike impelled him to preserve his country. The meditation of a single night fixt him in that resolve.

While Wilkinson placed New Orleans in a posture of defense, and proclaimed martial law at the mouth of the Mississippi, the lines were closing about the conspirators far up the river. Burr, by his own unguarded language in one or two quarters, had excited suspicions, which were communicated to the President. A government spy was dispatched to Blennerhassett's Island, on the Ohio, where preparations for the expedition had been progressing, and at his instance Governor

Tiffin, of Ohio, sent a body of militia to the scene and gave the first blow to the enterprise. Wilkinson's messenger arriving meantime at Washington with startling intelligence from the southwest, the President's proclamation was issued, and it became a hare and hound chase for the fugitives.

Blennerhassett, a giddy, romantic Irish gentleman, whom Burr had bewitched with his projects, hastened down the Ohio with a handful of recruits, the chief bateaux having been seized, and at the mouth of the Cumberland met Burr, who, unaware of his danger, had been scouring Kentucky and Tennessee for assistance. The whole flotilla did not muster more than thirteen boats, and from eighty to one hundred men, who, for the most part, were ignorant of their destination. Descending the Mississippi to the vicinity of Natchez Burr learned, for the first time, that Wilkinson, so far from cooperating, had betrayed his designs, and was ready at New Orleans to apprehend him for treason. This situation disclosed, the expedition was disbanded, the leader having first sunk his chests of arms in the river, and suppressed all token of criminal intent.

Burr now plunged into the Mississippi wilderness, endeavoring in disguise to reach the Gulf; but in a village on the Tombigbee he was recognized, taken prisoner, and sent by land under a military guard to Richmond jail. Blennerhassett was captured in Kentucky some months later. Dayton and others were indicted. Arbitrary arrests had been made by Wilkinson in New Orleans.

It only remained for the Federal courts to deal with the offenders as they deserved, all other trials being postponed to that of the chief conspirator.

But here the law shielded the prisoners. No conviction of treason was possible under our Constitution unless some overt act could be proved on the testimony of two witnesses. Burr's trial at Richmond collapsed upon a ruling of Marshall, the Chief Justice, to the effect that the enlistment and assembling of men at Blennerhassett's Island showed no overt act of treason; that even if it did, Burr's agency did not appear; and that the overt act must be first established before testimony of Burr's conduct or declarations elsewhere was admissable. Burr's second trial for misdemeanor failed upon a point of jurisdiction; and tho Burr and Blennerhassett were afterward held for trial in the district of Ohio upon this less heinous charge, the government abandoned their cause, and the other indictments were dismissed. The chief recollection of this famous prosecution is the forensic triumph achieved by one of the counsel on the government side, the eloquent Wirt, whose fervid description of Blennerhassett's island home [2]—the ideal of a literary retreat, such as through life haunted his own imagination—still retains a place in our literature.

To Blennerhassett Burr was indeed the serpent invading Eden. A charming home was ruined, a lovely family scattered. Soldiers committed pillage; creditors attached the estate; the dwelling, a quaint wooden house, with curved wings and a running piazza, was burned to the ground. Unfortunate in speculations by which he hoped to repair his fortune, the outcast vainly sought public office in Canada, and afterward in Ireland, and

[2] A reference to the familiar passage in Wirt's speech, beginning "And who was Blennerhassett?"

died at last on his native soil penniless and heart-broken. To thousands of travelers floating down the Ohio River past Marietta and this island, the deserted rendezvous of treason, has the pathetic tale of poor Blennerhassett been made familiar.

Nor, tho released from legal durance, did the chief offender himself escape the Nemesis of public condemnation. Less an object of compassion than Blennerhassett, Burr wandered abroad a few years, living upon scanty remittances from personal friends; but in 1812 returned stealthily to New York City, confirmed in sensual and impecunious habits. None of his former high acquaintances either molesting or greeting him, he slunk back into professional practise, confined for the rest of his life, with all his astuteness, to the grade of a pettifogger. His only child, to whom he had promised a diadem, the beloved Theodosia, lost at sea, and his line extinct, Burr was left without an endearing tie in the world; yet a stoic still, through all the vicissitudes of life, he lived to the age of fourscore, the obscurity of his Bohemian existence varied only by the scandal of a marriage at seventy-eight to a rich widow,[3] who soon after separated from him. Over the fair sex Burr's fascination was retained to the last; one woman, strange to his illustrious kindred, nursed him in last sickness, and another placed a simple block of marble to mark his unhonored grave.

[3] Madame Jumel, widow of Stephen Jumel. The marriage took place in the Jumel house, near High Bridge, New York City, which had been Washington's headquarters during his stay on Manhattan Island in the Revolution. The house is still standing; it was built by Roger Morris, an English army officer, as the home of himself and his wife, Mary Philipse.

FULTON'S SUCCESS WITH HIS STEAMBOAT

(1807)

I

AN ACCOUNT BY JAMES RENWICK[1]

All those who projected the application of steam to vessels before 1786 may be excluded, without ceremony, from the list of those entitled to compete with Fulton for the honors of invention. No one, indeed, could have seen the powerful action of a pumping-engine without being convinced that the energy, which was applied so successfully to that single purpose, might be made applicable to many others; but those who entertained a belief that the original atmospheric engine, or even the single-acting engine of Watt, could be applied to propel boats by paddle-wheels showed a total ignorance of mechanical principles. This is more particularly the case with all those whose projects bore the strongest resemblance to the plan which Fulton afterward carried successfully into effect. Those who approached most nearly to the attainment of success were they who were farthest removed from the plan of Fulton. His application

[1] Renwick was a native of England (born in 1790), who settled in New York, where he became a noted physicist, and published several books on scientific topics, including a "Treatise on the Steam Engine." He also wrote biographies of Fulton and Livingston.

was founded on the properties of Watt's double-acting engine, and could not have been used at all until that instrument of universal application had received the last finish of its inventor.

In this list of failures, from proposing to do what the instrument they employed was incapable of performing, we do not hesitate to include Savary, Papin, Jonathan Hulls, Perier, the Marquis de Jouffroy, and all the other names of earlier date than 1786, whom the jealousy of the French and English nations has drawn from oblivion for the purpose of contesting the priority of Fulton's claims. The only competitor whom they might have brought forward with some shadow of plausibility is Watt himself. No sooner had that illustrious inventor completed his double-acting engine than he saw at a glance the vast field of its application. Navigation and locomotion were not omitted; but, living in an inland town, and in a country possessing no rivers of importance, his views were limited to canals alone. In this direction he saw an immediate objection to the use of any apparatus of which so powerful an agent as his engine would be the mover; for it was clear that the injury which would be done to the banks of the canal would prevent the possibility of its introduction. Watt, therefore, after having conceived the idea of a steamboat, laid it aside as unlikely to be of any practical value.

The idea of applying steam to navigation was not confined to Europe. Numerous Americans entertained hopes of attaining the same object, but, before 1786, with the same want of any reasonable hopes of success. Their fruitless projects were, however, rebuked by Franklin, who,

reasoning upon the capabilities of the engine in its original form, did not hesitate to declare all their schemes impracticable.

Among those who, before the completion of Watts' invention, attempted the structure of steamboats, must be named with praise Fitch and Rumsey. They, unlike those whose names have been cited, were well aware of the real difficulties which they were to overcome; and both were the authors of plans which, if the engine had been incapable of further improvement, might have had a partial and limited success. Fitch's trial was made in 1783,[2] and Rumsey's in 1787. The latter date is subsequent to Watt's double-acting engine; but, as the project consisted merely in pumping in water to be afterward forced out at the stern, the single-acting engine was probably employed. Evans, whose engine might have answered the purpose, was employed in the daily business of a millwright, and, altho he might at any time have driven these competitors from the field, took no steps to apply his dormant invention.

Fitch, who had watched the graceful and rapid way of the Indian pirogue, saw in the oscillating

[2] The scene of one of Fitch's trials was the Collect Pond in New York City, long since filled in. About it now rise the Tombs Prison and the Criminal Court Building. Chancellor Livingston furnished the capital by means of which Fulton was able to proceed with his work, and became his partner in the enterprise. Had John Fitch been equally fortunate as to a partner, it is not unlikely that his name, instead of Fulton's, would now be associated with the successful construction of the steamboat. "The day will come," said Fitch, in his pathetic autobiography, "when some more powerful man will get fame and wealth from my invention, but nobody will believe that poor John Fitch can do anything worthy of attention."

motion of the old pumping-engine the means of impelling paddles in a manner similar to that given them by the human arm. This idea is extremely ingenious, and was applied in a simple and beautiful manner; but the engine was yet too feeble and cumbrous to yield an adequate force; and, when it received its great improvement from Watt, a more efficient mode of propulsion became practicable, and must have superseded Fitch's paddles had they even come into general use.

In the latter stages of Fitch's investigations he became aware of the value of Watt's double-acting engine, and refers to it as a valuable addition to his means of success; but it does not appear to have occurred to him that, with this improved power, methods of far greater efficiency than those to which he had been limited before this invention was completed had now become practicable.

When the properties of Watt's double-acting engine became known to the public an immediate attempt was made to apply it to navigation. This was done by Miller, of Dalswinton, who employed Symington as his engineer. Miller seems to have been its real author; for, as early as 1787, he published his belief that boats might be propelled by employing a steam-engine to turn the paddle-wheels. It was not until 1791 that Symington completed a model for him, of a size sufficient for a satisfactory experiment. If we may credit the evidence which has since been adduced, the experiment was as successful as the first attempts of Fulton; but it did not give to the inventor that degree of confidence which was necessary to induce him to embark his fortune in the enterprise.

The experiment of Miller was therefore ranked by the public among unsuccessful enterprises, and was rather calculated to deter from imitation than to encourage others to pursue the same path. . . .

The experiments of Fitch and Rumsey in the United States, altho generally considered as unsuccessful, did not deter others from similar attempts. . . . The first person who entered into the inquiry was John Stevens, of Hoboken, who commenced his researches in 1791. In these he was steadily engaged for nine years, when he became the associate of Chancellor Livingston and Nicholas Roosevelt. Among the persons employed by this association was Brunel, who has since become distinguished in Europe as the inventor of the block machinery used in the British navy-yards and as the engineer of the tunnel beneath the Thames.[3] Even with the aid of such talent the efforts of this association were unsuccessful, as we now know, from no error in principle, but from defects in the boat to which it was applied. The appointment of Livingston as ambassador to France broke up this joint effort.

Livingston, on his arrival in France, found Fulton domiciliated with Joel Barlow.[4] The conformity in their pursuits led to intimacy, and Fulton speedily communicated to Livingston the scheme which he had laid before Earl Stanhope in 1793. Livingston was so well pleased with it that he at once offered to provide the funds necessary for an experiment, and to enter into a contract for Ful-

[3] Brunel afterward acquired other fame as the designer of the steamship *Great Eastern*.

[4] The poet famous in his day as the author of a work now forgotten, entitled "The Columbiad."

ton's aid in introducing the method into the United States, provided the experiment were successful.

Fulton had in his early discussion with Lord Stanhope repudiated the idea of an apparatus acting on the principle of the foot of an aquatic bird, and had proposed paddle-wheels in its stead. . . . He had recourse to a series of experiments upon a small scale.

These were performed at Plombières, a French watering-place, where he spent the summer of 1802. In these experiments the superiority of the paddle-wheel over every other method of propulsion that had yet been proposed was fully established. His original impressions being thus confirmed he proceeded, late in the year of 1803, to construct a working model of his intended boat, which model was deposited with a commission of French savants. He at the same time commenced building a vessel sixty-six feet in length and eight feet in width. To this an engine was adapted; and the experiment made with it was so satisfactory as to leave little doubt of final success.

Measures were therefore immediately taken preparatory to constructing a steamboat on a large scale in the United States. For this purpose, as the workshops of neither France nor America could at that time furnish an engine of good quality, it became necessary to resort to England for the purpose. Fulton had already experienced the difficulty of being compelled to employ artizans unacquainted with the subject. . . . An engine was ordered from Watt and Bolton, without any specification of the object to which it was to be applied; and its form was directed to be varied

from the usual models, in conformity with sketches furnished by Fulton.

The order for an engine intended to propel a vessel of large size was transmitted to Watt and Bolton in 1803. Much about the same time Chancellor Livingston, having full confidence in the success of the enterprise, caused an application to be made to the Legislature of New York for an exclusive privilege of navigating the waters of that State by steam, that granted on a former occasion having expired. This was granted with little opposition. Indeed, those who might have been inclined to object saw so much of the impracticable and even of the ridiculous in the project that they conceived the application unworthy of serious debate. The condition attached to the grant was that a vessel should be propelled by steam at the rate of four miles an hour, within a prescribed space of time. This reliance upon the reserved rights of the States proved a fruitful source of vexation to Livingston and Fulton, embittered the close of the life of the latter, and reduced his family to penury. . . .

Before the engine ordered from Watt and Bolton was completed, Fulton visited England. Disgusted by the delays and want of consideration exhibited by the French Government, he had listened to an overture from that of England. This was made to him at the instance of Earl Stanhope, who urged upon the Administration the dangers to be apprehended by the navy of Great Britain in case the invention of Fulton fell into the possession of France. This effort, however, did not produce much effect. . . . In these experiments Earl Stanhope took a strong interest,

which was shared by his daughter, Lady Hester,[5] whose talents and singularity have since excited so much attention, and who long reigned almost as a queen among the tribes of the Libanus. . . .

The engine was at last completed, and reached New York in 1806. Fulton, who returned to his native country about the same period, immediately undertook the construction of a boat in which to place it. . . . The vessel was finished and fitted with her machinery in August, 1807. An experimental excursion was forthwith made, at which a number of gentlemen of science and intelligence were present. Many of these were either skeptical or absolute unbelievers. But a few minutes sufficed to convert the whole party and satisfy the most obstinate doubters that the long-desired object was at last accomplished. . . .

Within a few days from the time of the first experiment with the steamboat, a voyage was undertaken in it to Albany. This city, situated at the natural head of the navigation of the Hudson, is distant, by the line of the channel of the river, rather less than one hundred fifty miles from New York. By the old post road the distance is one hundred sixty miles, at which that by water is usually estimated. Altho the greater part of the channel of the Hudson is both deep and wide, yet, for about fourteen miles below Albany, this character is not preserved, and the stream, confined within comparatively small limits,

[5] Lady Hester Stanhope, niece of William Pitt, the younger, and from 1803 the head of his household and his private secretary. After Pitt's death, she established a small satrapy on Mount Lebanon. She wrote notable volumes of travels and memoirs.

is obstructed by bars of sand or spreads itself over shallows. In a few remarkable instances the sloops which then exclusively navigated the Hudson had effected a passage in about sixteen hours, but a whole week was not infrequently employed in this voyage, and the average time of passage was not less than four entire days. In Fulton's first attempt to navigate this stream the passage to Albany was performed in thirty-two hours, and the return in thirty. . . .

Regular voyages were made at stated times until the end of the season. These voyages were not, however, unattended with inconvenience. . . .

The winter of 1807-1808 was occupied in remodelling and rebuilding the vessel, to which the name of the *Clermont* was now given. By his contract with Chancellor Livingston the latter undertook to defray the whole cost of the engine and vessel until the experiment should result in success; but from that hour each was to furnish an equal share of all subsequent investments. Fulton had no patrimonial fortune, and what little he had saved from the product of his ingenuity was now exhausted. But the success of the experiment had inspired the banks and capitalists with confidence, and he now found no difficulty in obtaining, in the way of a loan, all that was needed. Still, however, a debt was thus contracted which the continued demands made upon him for new investments never permitted him to discharge. The *Clermont,* thus converted into a floating palace, gay with ornamental painting, gilding, and polished woods, commenced her course of passages for the second year in the month of April, 1808.

II

FULTON'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS FIRST TRIP TO ALBANY[1]

First Letter

I arrived this afternoon at four o'clock in the steamboat from Albany. As the success of my experiment gives me great hopes that such boats may be rendered of great importance to my country, to prevent erroneous opinions and give some satisfaction to my friends of useful improvements, you will have the goodness to publish the following statement of facts:

I left New York on Monday at one o'clock and arrived at Clermont, the seat of Chancellor Livingston, at one o'clock on Tuesday: time, twenty-four hours; distance, one hundred and ten miles. On Wednesday I departed from the Chancellor's at nine in the morning, and arrived at Albany at five in the afternoon: distance, forty miles; time, eight hours. The sum is one hundred and fifty miles in thirty-two hours, equal to near five miles an hour.

On Thursday, at nine o'clock in the morning, I left Albany, and arrived at the Chancellor's at six in the evening. I started from thence at seven, and arrived at New York at four in the afternoon: time, thirty hours; space run through, one hundred and fifty miles, equal to five miles an hour. Throughout my whole way, both going and returning, the wind was ahead. No advantage could be

[1] Two letters, the first being addrest to a newspaper, *The American Citizen;* the second to Joel Barlow, the poet.

derived from my sails. The whole has therefore been performed by the power of the steam-engine.

SECOND LETTER

My steamboat voyage to Albany and back has turned out rather more favorably than I had calculated. The distance from New York to Albany is one hundred and fifty miles. I ran it up in thirty-two hours, and down in thirty. I had a light breeze against me the whole way, both going and coming; and the voyage has been performed wholly by the power of the steam-engine. I overtook many sloops and schooners beating to windward, and parted with them.

The power of propelling boats by steam is now fully proved. The morning I left New York there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would ever move one mile an hour or be of the least utility; and, while we were putting off from the wharf, which was crowded with spectators, I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors.

Having employed much time, money, and zeal in accomplishing this work, it gives me, as it will you, great pleasure to see it answer my expectations. It will give a cheap and quick conveyance to the merchandize on the Mississippi, Missouri, and other great rivers, which are now laying open their treasures to the enterprise of our countrymen; and, altho the prospect of personal emolument has been some inducement to me, yet I feel infinitely more pleasure in reflecting on the immense advantage my country will derive.

DOWN THE OHIO BY BOAT FROM PITTSBURGH—PAST BLENNERHASSETT'S ISLAND

(1808)

BY HENRY M. BRECKENRIDGE[1]

With the reader's permission, I will now change the scene to the banks of the Monongahela at Pittsburgh—time, a fine morning in April. The shore is lined with the various kinds of keels, flat bottoms, or arks, of all the sizes and forms used in the growing trade of the West, and a bustling set of people playing different parts; but no leviathan steamboats are seen proudly asserting their conquest over the western waters. The object to which our attention will be more immediately attracted, is a keel about ten or fifteen tons burden, with a sort of deck at each end, affording a cabin sufficiently roomy for two men to lie under by coiling themselves up. Both bow and stern were pointed alike, and distinguished only by the bow-rope on the one, and the long tail of a steering oar on the other. The open space amidships was occupied by barrels, bales and castings, part on freight, and part owned by the captain, as he of the steering oar is usually denominated. . . .

[1] From Breckenridge's "Recollections." Published in Philadelphia in 1834. Breckenridge was a lawyer who served many years as judge, local as well as Federal, in Louisiana and Florida. This account is printed in Hart's "American History Told by Contemporaries."

The river was in fine order for navigation; the sky unclouded blue; winter had passed off, and "recalled his ruffian blasts," yet the forests still appeared naked and leafless. As we glided swiftly along, my companion, to whom everything was new and striking, amused me by his remarks, while I endeavored to catch some recollection of my first voyage; but excepting Legionville, the camp of General Wayne in 1792, I saw nothing I could remember. In place of the interminable wilderness, cultivated spots, cottages and farms, pleasantly situated, frequently attracted our attention. Not thinking it prudent, in this part of the river, to float during the night, it was resolved to encamp; which was accordingly done, and fire kindled in order to prepare our evening meal. . . .

Before the dawn of day the boat was again adrift, and before evening we reached the town of Wheeling. The intermediate space between this place and Pittsburgh will long continue to be the wildest and rudest part of the Ohio. The hills are high and steep, the river bottom comparatively narrow, and the river itself rapid and tortuous. . . .

The borders of the river had already put on the livery of Robin Hood before we arrived at Marietta, a pretty town, situated on a point at the mouth of the Muskingum; and at this time one of the most important on the Ohio. It was a handsome town when I first saw it, but it had much improved both in the style and number of its buildings. Some ten or twelve miles below this we came in sight of the island of Blennerhassett. There was a blue mist upon the waters and on the land, softening the scene into the most mellow

landscape, but either bank of the river was destitute of any striking natural objects, there being neither rocks nor hills: the giant sycamore and sugar trees may be considered exceptions to my remark.

The island and its embellishments were seen to the greatest advantage. The clean, naked, pebbly beach divided the stream in nearly equal parts; and beyond it the elegant mansion, painted white, was half hidden among the trees, partly native, which had submitted to the hand of art, and partly exotic, such as the Lombardy poplar and weeping willow. The large gateway and the tasteful shrubbery heightened the scene, looking like what the islands of the Ohio may be a century hence. It looked more like a vision of the future than a real landscape in the yet infant west. Such improvements are too far in advance of the state of society; they are costly to the owner, because they add nothing to the intrinsic value, and wealth is yet too scarce to pay so high for the gratifications of taste and the love of elegance. The fifty thousand dollars expended on this property would not have produced more than two or three thousand on the sale of it, unless by mere accident some other person of wealth happened to come, who was possest of the same fancy, and was equally regardless of calculation. . . .

It was a joyful moment when we took leave of the Wabash, and were again on the bosom of the majestic Ohio, now occupying a broad expanse; the banks lined with unbroken forests; the trees occupying ground perfectly level; and their tops as even as a clipt hedge—but such a hedge as might be looked for in the country of the Brobdig-

nags. Our captain now made known his intention to settle at New Madrid, and open a store or shop; and became all at once exceedingly desirous to save us the trouble of preparing our food; which duty he took entirely on himself. Under this pretense he took possession of the provisions; and, instead of tea and coffee, thenceforth gave us nothing but insipid cakes of Indian meal, fried with a little fat bacon. When we ventured to murmur, he showed us his teeth and his pistols. The remainder of the voyage, which was fortunately not long, proved very uncomfortable. . . . The despicable meanness and low cunning of our commander put an end to all conversation between us; and when we reached New Madrid, Greaves and I instantly leapt on shore.

JEFFERSON'S EMBARGO

(1808)

HOW IT PARALYZED BUSINESS

BY JOSIAH QUINCY[1]

A whole people is laboring under a most grievous oppression. All the business of the nation is deranged. All its active hopes are frustrated. All its industry stagnant. Its numerous products hastening to their market, are stopt in their course. A dam is thrown across the current, and every hour the strength and the tendency toward resistance is accumulating. The scene we are now witnessing is altogether unparalleled in history. The tales of fiction have no parallel for it. A new writ is executed upon a whole people. Not, indeed, the old monarchial writ, *ne exeat regno,* but a new republican writ, *ne exeat republicâ.* Freemen, in the pride of their liberty, have restraints imposed on them which despotism never exercised.

[1] Josiah Quincy, who is now best remembered as President of Harvard College (1829-1845), was a member of Congress during Jefferson's administration, and perhaps the most prominent of the extreme Federalists who opposed Jefferson. His opposition to the Embargo was intense.

Hart, who prints this article in his "Source Book of American History," explains that the Embargo, which prohibited the departure of vessels with cargoes for foreign ports, was an act of retaliation against England and France. New England ship-owners and Southern planters were alike vigorous in their clamorous outcries against it. Bryant's

They are fastened down to the soil by the enchantment of law; and their property vanishes in the very process of preservation. It is impossible for us to separate and leave such a people at such a moment as this, without administering some opiate to their distress. Some hope, however distant, of alleviation must be proffered; some prospect of relief opened. Otherwise, justly might we fear for the result of such an unexampled pressure. Who can say what counsels despair might suggest, or what weapons it might furnish? . . .

The embargo power, which now holds in its palsying grip all the hopes of this nation, is distinguished by two characteristics of material import, in deciding what control shall be left over it during our recess. I allude to its greatness and its novelty.

As to its greatness, nothing is like it. Every class of men feels it. Every interest in the nation is affected by it. The merchant, the farmer, the

poem is now the best known expression of the feeling it aroused in New England. The act was repealed in 1809.

Josiah Quincy a few years later (during the War of 1812) was a delegate to the famous secret Hartford Convention in which the doctrine of secession was promulgated. He went further than to favor it in the convention, inasmuch as he openly supported it in Congress, in a speech in which occurred these words: "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion that, if this bill passes, the bonds of union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that as it will be the right of all, as it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation—amicably if they can, violently if they must." Quincy early saw the danger that lay in the extension of the slave power, and the speech from which this extract is taken pertained to that subject. An account of the Hartford Convention by James Schouler will be found in Volume V.

planter, the mechanic, the laboring poor—all are sinking under its weight. But there is this that is peculiar to it, that there is no equality in its nature. It is not like taxation, which raises revenue according to the average of wealth; burdening the rich and letting the poor go free. But it presses upon the particular classes of society, in an inverse ratio to the capacity of each to bear it. From those who have much, it takes indeed something. But from those who have little, it takes all. For what hope is left to the industrious poor when enterprise, activity, and capital are proscribed their legitimate exercise? The regulations of society forbid what was once property to be so any longer. For property depends on circulation, on exchange; on ideal value. The power of property is all relative. It depends not merely upon opinion here, but upon opinion in other countries. If it be cut off from its destined market, much of it is worth nothing, and all of it is worth infinitely less than when circulation is unobstructed.

This embargo power is, therefore, of all powers the most enormous, in the manner in which it affects the hopes and interests of a nation. But its magnitude is not more remarkable than its novelty. An experiment, such as is now making, was never before—I will not say tried—it never before entered into the human imagination. There is nothing like it in the narrations of history or in the tales of fiction. All the habits of a mighty nation are at once counteracted. All their property depreciated. All their external connections violated. Five millions of people are encaged. They can not go beyond the limits of that once free country; now they are not even permitted to thrust

their own property through the grates. I am not now questioning its policy, its wisdom, or its practicability: I am merely stating the fact. And I ask if such a power as this, thus great, thus novel, thus interfering with all the great passions and interests of a whole people, ought to be left for six months in operation, without any power of control, except upon the occurrence of certain specified and arbitrary contingencies? Who can foretell when the spirit of endurance will cease? Who, when the strength of nature shall outgrow the strength of your bonds? Or if they do, who can give a pledge that the patience of the people will not first be exhausted.

HARRISON'S VICTORY AT TIPPECANOE

(1811)

BY JAMES SCHOULER[1]

William Henry Harrison, governor of the thriving Indiana Territory, a young man of courage and energy, holding formerly a captain's commission, had pursued the Jeffersonian policy toward the Indians with strict fidelity, purchasing from resident tribes large reservations, and encouraging them to give up the wandering life, and to settle and become civilized upon little farms of their own. But contact with the white pioneers polluted this dusky race, whose inveteracy in primitive unsocial manners has always been a striking trait of character. The white man's whisky made them drunkards; and familiarity with the white man's weapons—the only implements of civilization the northern tribes ever yet handled skilfully—made them dangerous neighbors. . . .

Two twin brothers of the Shawnee tribe had lately attained conspicuous power among the northwestern Indians. The most remarkable of these was Tecumseh, a man endowed with the best

[1] From Schouler's "History of the United States." By permission of Mr. Schouler, owner of the copyright, and of his publishers, Dodd, Mead & Co. Copyright 1880, 1891. This victory made Harrison famous. Probably it was this event more than any other that made him the Whig candidate for President in 1840—that picturesque and victorious campaign for "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too." General Harrison was the grandfather of President Benjamin Harrison.

gifts of Indian chieftainship; eloquent in council, brave in war, skilful in combining his followers, crafty and cruel in dealing with enemies. His brother, Elkswatawa, commonly known as the Prophet, and probably a cunning impostor, pretended to miraculous gifts. These two had combined to rouse their race to resist the influences of the white man.

To restore primitive manners among the Indians was the ostensible object of their joint mission; but, probably, like the great Pontiac, Tecumseh hoped to strike a blow for Indian independence by extirpating the frontier colonists and bringing nature back to barbarism. The Prophet took up his abode, in the summer of 1808, on the banks of the Upper Wabash, near the mouth of Tippecanoe, at a spot belonging to the Miamis and Delawares, which he occupied against their consent. Hither came his red devotees, flocking in from the surrounding tribes, the Lakes, and the Upper Mississippi, moved by curiosity or religious interest.

Harrison, who was popular among the neighboring Indians, had long suspected Tecumseh and his brother. Denouncing the Prophet as an impostor, he found, in 1809, by the latter's admissions, that British agents in Canada had sought to engage the brothers in war against the United States. In September of that year Harrison concluded a treaty at Fort Wayne with the Delawares, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Kickapoos, and other Indian tribes, by which lands on the Wabash, above Terre Haute, comprizing nearly 3,000,000 acres, were ceded to the United States. Neither Tecumseh, nor the Prophet, nor the tribe in which both were

born, had any claim to this tract, which our government purchased on fair terms; but they proceeded to declare the treaty void, and threatened to kill all the chiefs concerned in making it. The doctrine they set up was the inadmissible one that Indian lands belonged to all the Indian tribes in common, and that none could alienate without the consent of all.

Signs of hostile preparations and an alliance among northwestern tribes appearing the next year, Harrison held interviews with Tecumseh and the Prophet, with a view to conciliate them, if possible. They, on their part, imprest by Harrison's fearlessness and tried honor, endeavored, as they had always done, to disarm his suspicions. Tecumseh essayed, but unskilfully, the Pontiac[2] art of dissimulation. At the grand conference his eyes flashed fire; and from the eloquent appeal to the governor to return the lands and cancel the new treaty for the sake of friendship, he proceeded to accuse the United States of cheating and imposing on the Indians. He cast off his blanket, and at a given signal his warriors sprang to their feet and brandished their tomahawks. Harrison's coolness at this critical moment prevented a scene of bloodshed. Apologies were tendered, and Harrison visited Tecumseh afterward in his own camp. But nothing short of cancelling our treaty in favor of his proposed confederacy would pacify the Indian chief, and the conference closed.

In the spring of 1811 the Indians on the Wabash began to roam in marauding parties over the region, stealing horses and plundering the homes of

[2] Pontiac was the leader of what is known as the Pontiac conspiracy of 1763.

our settlers and friendly Indians. Harrison warned Tecumseh that unless these outrages ceased he might expect to be attacked. The wily warrior, protested that his intentions were friendly. . . .

Leaving Vincennes in September, Harrison proceeded cautiously up the valley of the Wabash, completed a stockade fort by October upon a high bluff, near the present site of Terre Haute, and advanced to the Prophet's town on the Tippecanoe. Tecumseh was absent, and the Prophet and his followers, taken thus by surprize, asked for a parley, which was granted. Wrought up to frenzy, however, in the course of their nocturnal rites, and confiding in the supernatural gifts of their medicine man, the savages treacherously assailed Harrison's camp the next morning at daybreak; but Harrison's troops stood their ground, and after a general battle, which lasted until sunrise, the invaders were dispersed at the point of the bayonet. Tho dearly bought, the victory was complete and decisive; for advancing the next day upon the Prophet's town, Harrison found it entirely deserted. The town was burned, with its stores, and our forces returned to Vincennes.

The immediate result of this expedition was to relieve our northwestern settlers from the menace of powerful Indian combinations on the frontiers. Most of the Prophet's followers who survived the battle dispersed to their several tribes, cursing their credulity. Tecumseh returning soon afterward from his southern journey, found his schemes frustrated by the brother, who had played warrior in his absence, and presently crossing into Canada he joined the British cause.

END OF VOL. IV